

AN INTEGRATED AND COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF A SELECTED TRIBAL COMMUNITY
LIVING IN CONTIGUOUS AREAS

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PREFACE

WITH THE INCEPTION of the community development programmes, different types of schemes for the development and welfare of the people have been launched throughout the country. Though the types of schemes and the machinery for their implementation are more or less the same, the degrees of responses to the acceptance of these schemes have not been uniform. This is particularly true of the schemes operating in tribal areas. It has been observed that even two sets of villages under two different States though forming a contiguous area, inhabited by the same tribe, having the same ecology and various other common factors, react differently to the same types of development schemes launched by the two State governments, and show different achievements. To find out the factors responsible for the different degrees of responses to, and achievements made by, the adoption of the development schemes, a contiguous area comprising three villages each in Dumri block of Bihar and Jashpurnagar block of Madhya Pradesh was selected for this study. All the six villages were inhabited by the Oraon, were ecologically, geographically and economically almost identical and all had identical sets of development programmes operating in them. Of the various factors, the methods and approaches of the two State governments and voluntary agencies working in these areas were found to be the most important.

The two State governments of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, the Christian missions of different denominations, Adimjati Seva Mandal and Kalyan Ashram are the agencies implementing various development and welfare schemes in the contiguous area under study. The methods and approaches of all these agencies were studied in detail, and efforts made to show how the difference in their methods and approaches has led to the difference in the respective achievements made by the two sets of villages of the contiguous area.

This difference in the degree of response to, and acceptance of, the development schemes exists in other contiguous areas also formed by different sets of villages bordering Bihar and Orissa,

Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, and so on. On the experience of this study of the contiguous area formed by the villages on the borders of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, similar studies may also be undertaken in other contiguous areas.

We received help and cooperation from a number of persons in conducting this study. Shri N. Sundaram, ex-Director General, Backward Classes Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, gave his usual help and encouragement for which I am immensely thankful to him. Thanks are also due to Sarvashri B. Prasad, Sub-divisional Officer, Gumla, G. Mishra, Block Development Officer, Chainpur; P. Jha, Circle Officer, Dumri, U.C. Sahai, Medical Officer, Dumri; K.N. Gupta, District Organizer, Jashpur; M. Amanullah, Assistant Research Officer, Jashpur, L.N. Gupta, Block Education Extension Officer, Dumri, R.C. Sahu, Headmaster, Adimjati Seva Mandal School, Tangardih and K. Mishra, Galonda, for assistance in the field.

The field work in Dumri was done by me and Dr S. Prasad, Lecturer, Tribal Education Unit, and in Jashpur by him. Most of the tabulation and analysis were also done by him. He carried out his assignments with a sense of devotion and underwent many hardships to complete them. For all these, he deserves the credit due to him.

New Delhi
22 May, 1970

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE MAIN PURPOSE of this study was to find out as to how and why the same tribal community living in contiguous areas in two bordering states in almost similar ecological, economic and social conditions, and with the same type of welfare schemes operating in their areas do not show the same degree of response to the acceptance of the welfare schemes, do not derive equal benefits from them and do not attain equal levels of development. This variation in the levels of development of the tribes may be due to the varying degrees of exploitation, appreciation of educational facilities, economic conditions, political participation and consciousness; lack of awareness towards welfare schemes; methods and approaches of the government and voluntary agencies towards the execution of the welfare schemes; and various other considerations. It was also intended to assess the methods and approaches of the various agencies responsible for planning and execution of different types of welfare programmes and to see whether they were suitable or otherwise to the conditions obtaining in the area concerned and catered to the need of the people.

It was also the aim of this study to provide an insight into the working of the various agencies and their relative successes and failures in the fields of their activities, particularly in the field of educational development. The study has also suggested methods and approaches for making the governmental schemes more acceptable to the people. It has also tried to identify the causes of the failures of certain schemes in the area and has suggested measures which could be helpful in remodelling the schemes suitable to the local needs.

Further, a study of the advantages derived by a particular tribe in relation to the other tribes living in the same contiguous area was made and it has been suggested how the relatively underdeveloped tribes could take comparatively greater advantages to bridge the gap between one tribe and the other.

Area of Study

The contiguous area selected for this study comprised of Gumla sub-division of Ranchi district in Bihar and Jashpur sub-division of Raigarh district in Madhya Pradesh. In these two sub-divisions two blocks, Dumri of Gumla sub-division and Jashpurnagar of Jashpur sub-division were selected. These two blocks also formed a contiguous area. In each of them, three bordering villages which together formed a contiguous area were selected for intensive study. The criterion for selecting these villages was their achievement as far as the welfare and development programmes were concerned.

In the two sample blocks the community selected for the study was the Oraon, a predominant tribe in the area. Their population in Gumla sub-division is 2,14,504 and in Jashpur sub-division 1,14,422.

Research Methodology

(a) *Sampling.* The sampling of the contiguous area, districts, sub-divisions, blocks and villages was purposive

- (i) State—The study was confined to the states of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh because of the larger concentration of tribal people in them.
- (ii) District—In Bihar, Ranchi district and in Madhya Pradesh, Raigarh district were taken up for study because Ranchi and Raigarh districts form a contiguous area.
- (iii) Sub-divisions—The contiguous area selected for study was the area formed by Gumla and Jashpur sub-divisions of Ranchi and Raigarh districts respectively.
- (iv) Blocks—Dumri block of Gumla sub-division and Jashpurnagar block of Jashpur sub-division constitute a compact region in the contiguous area, and so they were selected.
- (v) Villages—Three villages in each of the two blocks were selected for study. The criterion of selection of the villages was their degree of development so far as the welfare programmes were concerned. As such, the three villages selected in each of the two blocks belonged to three different categories: (i) the most developed, (ii) not so developed, and (iii) the least developed. The table given below gives the details.
- (vi) Households—It was not possible to cover all the households of the three sample villages in each of the two

Table I.1. Sample villages of the contiguous area

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Categories</i>	<i>Villages</i>
Dumri	I	Bhikhampur
	II	Suwali
	III	Bichhra
Jashpurnagar	I	Galonda
	II	Paiku
	III	Kating

blocks. So 20 per cent of the total number of households were selected in such a way that the various cross-sections of population namely, literates, illiterates, Christians, Saunsars (that section of the tribe which still follows the traditional Oraon religion), agriculturists, non-agriculturists, and beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (of the schemes) were represented.

- (vii) Officials—The officials connected with the welfare and development of the tribal people in the contiguous area, except those who did not wish to give their opinions, were also interviewed. These included government officials, officials of the Christian missions, employees of the Adimjati Seva Mandal and Kalyan Ashram, and the local leaders.

(b) *Data collected.* Keeping in view the main objectives of the study, the following basic data were collected during the course of the study.

- (i) Number of schools and strength of students, their output, wastage and failure, financial assistance, attitude of parents towards education.
- (ii) Data on officials, non-officials and voluntary agencies, and their achievements in the field of education, economy and employment, and their efforts to do away with the exploitation of the people were also collected.

(c) *Tools and techniques.*

- (i) Questionnaires and schedules were administered to the villagers and officials of the government and voluntary agencies separately.
- (ii) Both group and individual interviews were also conducted.

- (iii) Many case histories were also collected in order to substantiate the data and information collected by means of other tools and techniques.
- (iv) Both participant and non-participant observations were made to supplement the data collected through questionnaire and interview.
- (v) Study of relevant records at the State, district, block, village and school levels was also made to have the necessary statistics.

(d) *Analysis and tabulation.* The data obtained in the field of study from different categories of respondents were tabulated and analysed. The responses given by the respondents were classified and presented in the form of tables. Some important tables and their analysis and only the analysis of other ones are given in this report.

Salient Features of the Study

In course of the study various types of details such as economic needs, working of the co-operatives, educational condition, employment position, political awareness, structure and functions of the traditional and statutory gram panchayats and exploitation of the people were collected.

The development programmes are undertaken by the government as well as the Christian missions in Bihar. Besides, Adimjati Seva Mandal, a non-official agency, is also working in the area for educational development of the tribes.

The development schemes of the Christian missions run more or less parallel to those of the government, especially in the field of (a) education, (b) economic development—in the form of expert guidance, supply of seeds and fertilizers, agricultural credit and co-operative farming, and (c) co-operative banking.

Such activities are also in Madhya Pradesh where economic development programmes have not been taken up by the Christian missions, but by government agencies alone.

The Christian missions also are engaged in the development of the tribal people of the contiguous area, but they are also actively engaged in the exploitation of the tribal people, as reported by the people themselves, through various means such as, collection of contribution and donation and giving a lesser rate of interest on the amount deposited by them in the mission co-operative banks. Besides, religious exploitation is also reported to be there.

Similarly the mal-practices at the hands of the officials, as reported by the people, also pose serious problems which impede the progress of development.

Liquor addiction as a result of unrestricted sale of liquor through the *parchunia*¹ is a great menace and this leads to various types of factions in the village and disputes in the family which, in the long run, become hurdles in the development of the people.

The success or failure of a scheme depends largely on the attitudes of the local leaders. The villages having conscious and honest leaders accept the various schemes, while in the villages where the leaders are not so, the government schemes fail. The villages having no leaders are indifferent towards the development programmes.

Limitations of the Study

The villages of Dumri block are inaccessible for about five months in a year, that is, with the onset of monsoon till October. Secondly, the non-cooperation of officials was at times most discouraging. Due to this relevant details had to be collected and compiled in fragments from various sources. No proper records for various development schemes were available from the blocks and at times it was difficult to obtain comparable data from the two sample blocks.

The change in the administrative set-up of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks also led to some difficulties. There was none to co-ordinate the activities of the various extension officers of Jashpurnagar block and it was difficult to get the details on co-operatives, agricultural extension programmes etc.

¹*Parchunia* is a petty liquor vendor who illegally sells liquor in villages.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SETTING OF THE CONTIGUOUS AREA

THE CONTIGUOUS AREA under study forms a part of the Chotanagpur plateau and the Dumri area and shows a prominent table-land. The significant physiographic feature of the contiguous area is that the hill ranges and the Sankh river divide the two sample blocks of the contiguous area. It characteristically represents a cross-section of the Chotanagpur plateau which consists of hills and valleys. The forests in the contiguous area fall along the course of the river and on the hills.

Paddy is the principal crop of the area which is grown in the low lands. People resort to single cropping. Besides paddy, oil seeds, such as mustard and linseed, are also grown. The oil seeds are their cash crops.

The communication in the contiguous area shows some contrasting features in the two blocks. In Dumri there is practically no means of communication except a kachcha road which connects it with Jairagi and Chainpur across the Sankh. During rains Dumri block remains cut off from the sub-divisional and district headquarters. A major portion of Dumri block is unconnected with the block headquarters, and only in winter, some parts of the block can be reached by jeep. Unlike Dumri, Jashpurnagar block is well connected with many villages and jeep can reach even the hilly and *pat* (a flat surface on top of the hill) areas. Though there is only one metalled road which runs from Sankh to Raigarh via Jashpurnagar, yet kachcha roads are well laid out throughout the block. The main reason for this is, perhaps, that roads already existed when Jashpur was a princely state and they are continued to be maintained. Jashpurnagar is connected with Rourkela, Sambalpur, Raigarh, Ranchi and also with other parts of the blocks like Bagicha and Sanna. Regular buses ply on these routes.

The bi-weekly markets at Dumri and Jashpurnagar cater to the needs of the people. The market at Jashpurnagar is bigger than the market at Dumri. The cattle market is quite big there.

There is no facility for sale and purchase of cattle at Dumri. The main reason is the lack of communication. Due to this the commodities sold in the market of Dumri are costlier than that of Jashpurnagar.

Dumri Block

In Dumri block, the three villages of Suwali, Bichchra and Bhikhampur were studied.

(i) Suwali is located on a table-land giving a view of the valley. It has two hamlets : Hanri Suwali and Suwali. Hanri Suwali is about a mile away from Suwali in the east across Lapri river. The hill range stretches in the south-west of the village about a mile away. It separates Jashpurnagar from Dumri. Suwali is connected with the neighbouring villages namely Chirainya and Kadarwani by foot-tracks and these villages in turn can be reached by jeep from the block headquarters.

(ii) Bichchra is a village on the foot of the Jarda hill on the bank of the Chidra river flowing to the west. It is a compact village and is completely cut-off from the block headquarters and also from the neighbouring villages. It can only be reached on foot.

(iii) Bhikhampur is on an undulating plain surrounded by hills on three sides. On the east about a mile and a half away is the Lawa river. It has two hamlets : Bhikhampur and Nawatoli. Nawatoli, as the name implies, is of recent origin and is situated on a small hillock while Bhikhampur is in the plains. The hill range in the west of Bhikhampur separates it from Jashpurnagar block.

In comparison to Suwali and Bichchra, Bhikhampur has better communication. It is connected with Champur and Dumri. The kachcha road running from Jarragi to Govindpur connects Bhikhampur and Dumri. This road is now in a very bad shape and jeep can run on this road with great difficulty. The block officials who want to avail of the vehicle facility have to come via Champur.

Jashpurnagar Block

In Jashpurnagar block Galonda, Paiku and Kating villages were selected for study. These three villages show topographic features similar to those of the sample villages of Dumri block.

(i) Galonda is located almost on plain land and the hill tract is on the north of the village. It is divided into two hamlets: Bara Galonda and Chota Galonda. The latter is about three-fourth of a mile away from Bara Galonda, and a village named Debidih of Dumri block is just on the other side of this hamlet. Only a narrow lane separates Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks.

(ii) Paiku is on a table-land in the north-west of Galonda. The hill range is in the eastern side of the village about one and half miles away. Paiku is only three miles away from Bhikhampur and one has to pass through the skirt of the hill to reach the other village. Paiku is divided into two hamlets. Garha Paiku and Dipa Paiku. Garha Paiku is situated at a slightly lower level and Dipa Paiku is on the upland.

(iii) Kating is situated on an undulating plain and on the east of the village beyond Pondi is the Sankh river. There is a small hillock in the north of the village wherefrom the hill range recedes towards Bihar. This hill range running in the north-west and the Sankh river on the east divide Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The villages falling in Bihar are half a mile away from Kating in the north on the other side of the hillock.

Galonda, Paiku and Kating villages of Jashpurnagar block have better communication facilities than Suwali, Bichchra and Bhikhampur villages of Dumri block. All the former villages can be reached by jeep.

The People

Both Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks are predominantly inhabited by the Oraon. Besides the Oraon, Korwa, Kavar, Lohar, Bhuiya, Kherwar, Kisan, Chik, Mahli, Nagesia and Munda are the other communities living in this area. Table II.1. gives the break-up of the population in the sample villages of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks.

The Oraon constitute 67.9 per cent of the population in Dumri block and 84.5 percent in Jashpurnagar. Dumri block has 13.6 per cent Munda as well whereas in Jashpurnagar they are only 2.7 per cent.

Administrative Set-up

The administrative set-up of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh in general are the same except for certain variations as far as the welfare and development of the tribal communities are concerned. At the State level there is a separate Minister for Tribal Welfare of cabinet rank in Madhya Pradesh, while in Bihar the Minister for Welfare is overall incharge of the welfare and development of the people in State including the backward classes and tribal communities. At the State level in Bihar there is a separate secretary for tribal welfare in the welfare department. In Madhya Pradesh tribal welfare is the exclusive concern of the Ministry of Tribal Welfare.

In Bihar District Development Officer is incharge of all

Table II 1. Distribution of population in the sample villages

Communities	Dumri			Jashpurnagar		
	Suwal	Bichhra	Bhikhampur	Galonda	Paiku	Kating
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Oraon	175	102	278	810	653	150
Kanwar	8	—	—	—	—	—
Munda	111	—	—	14	—	38
Korwa	6	—	—	—	—	—
Chik	10	—	—	20	60	—
Lohar	8	—	8	32	24	—
Bhuiya	—	—	—	—	8	—
Ghasi	32	—	—	11	—	—
Ahir	7	—	4	—	—	—
Gayar	—	—	—	6	—	—
Jhora	—	—	11	—	—	—
Turi	—	—	—	—	5	—
Rewariya	—	—	—	—	3	—
Rajput	—	—	—	5	7	—
Shay	23	—	—	—	—	—
Brahmin	—	—	—	2	—	—
Kherwar	—	—	—	—	4	—
Kisan	3	—	—	—	—	—
Muslim	—	—	—	5	—	—
Kumhar	—	—	—	—	43	—
Mahli	8	—	—	—	—	—
Nagesia	—	24	—	—	—	—
Total	391	126	301	905	807	197

the developmental activities of the district excluding the schemes that are financed by the Welfare Department for which the District Welfare Officer is responsible. But District Development

Officer being superior in rank and concerned with the development of the district as a whole, has much say in the administration of tribal welfare schemes also.

In Madhya Pradesh, as far as the development of the tribal people and tribal areas are concerned, a District Organizer looks after the district. He is under the Tribal Welfare Department and the programmes of tribal welfare are implemented through him.

In Bihar the block is the unit for development and welfare of the tribal people and the area, whereas in Madhya Pradesh the blocks have now been abolished. At block level, the Block Development Officer is incharge of the development of a block as a whole. There are various other development workers like Medical Officer, Agricultural Extension Officer or Agriculture Supervisor, Block Education Extension Officer, Welfare Inspector, Overseer, Cooperative Supervisor and Veterinary Supervisor etc.

In Madhya Pradesh, with the abolition of the blocks, the Sub-divisional Officer is incharge of all the blocks of the sub-division and a coordinating authority stationed at each block headquarters looks after the implementation of the various development programmes. In most cases a Circle Organizer who is an employee of the Tribal Welfare Department is the coordinating authority. Besides, Agricultural Extension Officer, Cooperative Supervisor, Medical Officer and Veterinary Doctor are also there. But their services are now under the respective departments.

The Voluntary Agencies

In the sample blocks the Roman Catholic missions are also engaged in the welfare and development of the tribal communities. They have one parish each at Nawadih and Bhikhampur in Dumri and one parish at Gholeng in Jashpurnagar, about five miles away from Jashpurnagar town. The major activities of the Christian missions, apart from their religious propagation and conversion, are programmes for economic betterment including agricultural development, education, cooperatives, grain golas, and credit facilities. The entire activities are looked after by the parish priest, though each specific programme is exclusively looked after by different officials of the missions. Below the parish is the village which is the smallest unit. At the village level they form different sub-committees which look after the specific programmes, though the *piachar*¹ also keeps an eye on the various programmes

¹*Piachar* is the diminutive form of *piacharak*, the preacher. He is responsible for preaching the tenets and propagation of Christianity at the village level.

of the mission. Regular meetings are arranged in the mission at parish headquarters to prepare strategies for effective implementation of the programmes.

Besides the Christian missions, Adimjati Seva Mandal and the Kalyan Ashram are the two other voluntary agencies actively associated with the welfare and development of the tribal people in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively. In Ranchi district the Adimjati Seva Mandal is mainly associated with the educational development of the tribal people, such as opening of schools and hostels. It is running a high school in Dumri block at Tangardih. In Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh, a branch of Kalyan Ashram has its nucleus at Jashpurnagar. It is associated with the educational and physical development of the tribal communities in the area. It has a very limited fund at its disposal, so the school and the regular physical training programmes turn out a small number of trained personnel who in turn are sent to their respective areas to organize similar programmes among the tribal people.

CHAPTER THREE

ECONOMY

DUMRI BLOCK has only rural population, while Jashpurnagar has a little urban population also in Jashpurnagar which is its only town. In spite of this variation in distribution of the tribal population, the occupational structure of both the blocks is almost the same. Agriculture is the main stay in both the blocks. The agricultural practices are confined to plough cultivation. The occupational distribution of the people in both the blocks shows that cultivation is the main occupation of the people. 91.6 per cent heads of households in Jashpurnagar block and 86.6 per cent in Dumri block are engaged in cultivation. Service and agricultural labour are the other two occupations in which they are engaged, though the percentages are very low. In Dumri block 12 per cent and in Jashpurnagar 6.5 per cent are engaged in service. The percentages of those who are engaged in agricultural labour in both the blocks are almost equal. The heads of households engaged in service are reported to be blacksmiths, milkmen, boatmen and teachers.

Taking the general trend of occupational distribution village wise, it is seen that Galonda, Paiku and Kating villages of Jashpurnagar block have almost the same pattern, but in Dumri block there is a sharp variation between Bichchra and Bhikhampur villages. The main reason for Bhikhampur having 28 per cent of the informants in services is due to the fact that it is a Christian village having more educated persons who are engaged in occupations like teaching, clerical jobs in mission banks and in tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal. As such, those who are exclusively engaged in cultivation are less here in comparison to those in Suwali and Bichchra.

In both the blocks, except the boatmen, milkmen and blacksmiths, others who are engaged in service do have their own cultivable land also but for them cultivation is of secondary importance.

The number of family members engaged in cultivation are more than those engaged in agricultural labour and forestry. The only exceptions are Bichhra and Kating where the number of people engaged in cultivation are less than those engaged in forestry and agricultural labour, and forestry respectively. The number of those engaged in occupations other than cultivation, agricultural labour and forestry is very few in Dumri, while the number is large enough in Jashpurnagar.

Some persons from Bhikhampur are working in tea gardens, as school teachers and clerks. In Jashpurnagar block most of the villagers who are engaged in occupations other than agriculture, agricultural labour and forestry are reported from Galonda, though Palku and Kating also have some such persons. It is also significant to note that in both the blocks, the Christian villages have more such numbers who are otherwise engaged than in agriculture. The villagers in general are of the opinion that due to the growth in the size of the families the burden on land has increased, and so some of the family members have to go to earn money with which they pay off the land revenues, and if any amount is saved it is utilized for purchasing some more land or releasing mortgaged land, if any.

In an agricultural family the number of plough indicates its land holdings and its wealth. A family of meagre means earning from its fields just enough to make the two ends meet invariably owns one plough. A majority of the sample families own only one plough. No family in Dumri owns more than two ploughs, whereas in Jashpurnagar 7.5 per cent families own three and 2.5 per cent four ploughs.

Hence it is evident that economically the Oraon of the two blocks of the contiguous area though living in different States, are almost on the same level.

In methods and techniques of cultivation also the people living in the two blocks do not show any significant difference. In both the areas they mostly use the traditional wooden plough. The use of tractor is almost unknown. The iron plough has been supplied by the block officials in both the areas. The details about the use of new tools and implements show that in Dumri block the cultivators do not use new tools and implements. In Jashpurnagar block, 92.5 per cent of the respondents do not make use of the new tools and implements. Those who do, are from Galonda village. Iron plough is the only new tool used by some of the people at Galonda. The cultivators know that the iron plough is useful because it furrows deep, but its disadvantage is

that it is heavy and their small cattle cannot draw it. Other reasons for preferring the traditional wooden plough are that it is light and can be carried to the cultivation field on shoulders, it is cheap, it cannot be stolen, and lastly, that the people do not want to discard their traditional plough so soon and so easily. Thus it is clear that the people have not accepted the iron ploughs distributed to them. Some of them reported that the iron ploughs were given to them under pressure and their cost was deducted from the subsidy they received for construction of well, or co-operative loan and so on. No body reported to have purchased it willingly. Even those who possess such ploughs do not make use of them, and have tucked them away in the corners of their houses. Though on paper it might have been indicated that a certain number of ploughs have been distributed to the people, in actual practice, the ploughs are not being used, and the scheme of distribution of iron ploughs has failed to get acceptance of the people.

While examining the agricultural methods, the use of manure, fertilizer, improved seeds and irrigation facilities are discussed.

Use of Manure and Chemical Fertilizer

All the villagers interviewed reported that they used cowdung manure. But a few of them in Dumri block also reported that they used chemical fertilizer. However, in Jashpurnagar block a considerable number of respondents reported that they did use chemical fertilizer.

Though all the respondents in both Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks used cowdung manure, only 11.1 per cent of them in Dumri and 45 per cent in Jashpurnagar used chemical fertilizer. In this respect Jashpurnagar block appears to be more progressive than Dumri block. It was also observed that in Dumri block the respondents did not know the actual name of the different types of fertilizers but in Jashpurnagar most of them did. Among those who use chemical fertilizers super-phosphate, ammonium sulphate and urea are more popular.

The main reason for the non-acceptance of chemical fertilizer in Dumri block is that the tribal people are not convinced of its utility. Besides, they have great faith in their cowdung manure. They further believe that if chemical fertilizer is used once, it has to be used every year and if, perchance, the crop fails due to lack of rain, then their entire investment would go waste. Moreover, they are economically not in a position to invest in fertilizer every year.

On the contrary, in Jashpurnagar block the tribal people have since realized the utility of fertilizer and they are convinced that chemical fertilizer is good for atleast upland cultivation. There are various factors responsible for this change in the attitude of the people. The main reason is that in Galonda fertilizer was distributed free of cost and hence they tried it in the upland, and it produced better yield. The Christian mission of Gholeng has also played a role in popularizing this in Galonda. Galonda is a predominantly Christian village, hence the authority of the Christian mission is greatly felt there. The villagers also reported that at Majhatoli they had seen the results of chemical fertilizer in upland cultivation. This had a salutary effect on them and they also wanted to try the fertilizer. Thirdly, the Sarpanch of Galonda is also responsible for it. He is making use of chemical fertilizer in both *don* (low land) and *tanr* (upland) and he also commands a good respect among the villagers. As such it was not difficult to persuade them to use the fertilizer. In Paiku, very few people use chemical fertilizer even though they have seen its result in Galonda. Most of them reported that they had been to Galonda to get the free supply of fertilizer but it was all distributed by the time they reached there. Hence they could not use it. Later they made efforts to obtain it through the village level worker but he also could not help them. Galonda has good communication facilities and the Sarpanch of Galonda is active, hence Galonda gets its supply easily, while the people of Paiku have either to bring it from Galonda or Nimgaon. At times they do not get the supply in time, hence the lack of interest in using chemical fertilizer. In December 1967, most of the villagers reported that this time they had already placed their indents of their requirements of chemical fertilizers with the VLW and had decided to cultivate almost all the uplands which were lying fallow for several years and use fertilizer in them.

Though the awareness about the utility of chemical fertilizer in Jashpurnagar is more than in Dumri, yet it is found that the people do not use it in their *don* land. They hold that the land gets spoiled due to the use of chemical fertilizer. The soil gets hard and as such they do not use it in these low land for which they depend mostly on cowdung manure.

In Dumri block both government and Christian missions supply fertilizer to the people, while in Jashpurnagar it is supplied only by the government.

Use of Improved Seeds

The tribal people in general make use of their own seeds

and when they run short of it they depend on fellow villagers, grain gola or the block.

In Dumri block 77.8 per cent of the respondents reported that they used their own seeds while in Jashpurnagar block 97.5 per cent did so. Those in Dumri block who did not use their own seeds reported that they either borrowed or purchased from the fellow villagers, while only one of them purchased from the bi-weekly market.

Though they make use of their own seeds, yet most of them in both the blocks also reported that there was a provision for the supply of improved seeds of paddy, wheat and potato by the government but they had not purchased from it.

The main reason of their not using improved seeds supplied by the government is their firm conviction in the suitability of their own seeds which, according to them, are suited to their land. They argue that they have been growing a particular variety of paddy which has proved to be the most suitable for a particular type of land. Hence the same variety and not any other will grow well in that particular land. If the seed, which has been grown for long after making experiments, is substituted by another then the yield is not expected to be even as much as they normally get, and so they do not want to take risk. Besides the rate of interest charged on the improved seeds supplied on credit is heavy, and even if some of them want to get some improved seeds for experimentation, the seeds do not come in time and afterwards it becomes difficult for them to make a proper use of them.

Irrigation Facilities

People in both the blocks depend mostly on the monsoon. Besides, some facilities for irrigation have also been provided by the government under its development programmes.

The facilities of irrigation are meagre in Dumri block. In Jashpurnagar 97.5 per cent respondents said that irrigation facilities were available in their village as against 11.1 per cent respondents of Dumri block.

In Dumri *rahat* and *nala* are the only two means of irrigation. But in Jashpurnagar such irrigation facilities as *nala*, *rahat*, well and pumping sets are available. Dumri block thus lags far behind Jashpurnagar in this respect. In both the blocks only the government provides irrigation facilities. The voluntary agencies have not done much in this respect. In Dumri there was no proper implementation of the irrigation scheme while in Jashpurnagar the situation was better. The most important

reason for such a disparity lies in the methods and approaches of the development workers of the government. In Dumri block, the development workers failed to convince the tribal people about the need for a suitable irrigational facilities, and programme of construction of well, bundh etc. were not taken up by the farmers on subsidy basis because their interest was not aroused and confidence not gained for such projects. There was apprehension in the minds of the people that if the wells were constructed out of government loan, the government would confiscate their property afterwards if they failed to complete the scheme. So they did not want to be involved in government transactions in this matter. Many cases were cited in which the people failed to complete their schemes and they had to return the amount because there was a threat from the government officials that cases would be instituted against them in the courts. However baseless this apprehension might have been, no effort was made to banish it from the minds of the people.

The tribal people are not aware of the financial rules and their implications, and when they have to go to the block office a number of times to get the first advance, they feel harassed, lose interest and cease to make any further efforts. At times, the subsidy sanctioned to the people for digging wells and for other purposes was not given in full to them. A part of it was deducted and fertilizer, iron plough and fruit seedlings were given to them against the cash amount deducted. People resented such methods of coercion and forcible pushing up of development programmes. As they were asked to use these new things under duress it had an adverse effect on them and they either did not accept even the subsidy or accepted a portion of it but refused to accept the fertilizer and the implements. Thus such methods, instead of popularising the programmes, invited the resentment and resistance of the people.

Some people also reported that when they had completed their work for which they had received a part of the subsidy the final payment was not only delayed but they were subjected to harassment with ulterior motives. They also complained that when they politely objected to their being subjected to harassment, the measurement for final payment was taken after or during the rainy season when a portion of the irrigation or any other earth work would have eroded and would thus show a lesser area of work done. Due to all these, the people in Dumri block did not succeed in getting adequate irrigational facilities.

The government programmes for development did not succeed due to false and anti-government propaganda launched by

some vested interests in order to divert the attention of the people from government programmes. There was no step taken by the government to counteract this propaganda. Nobody even bothered to place the true facts before the people. The Christian missions in Dumri block do not support the government's developmental programme because they are also running similar and parallel programmes.

Hence government programmes failed to reach the desired success in Dumri block. In Jashpurnagar block, the programmes of economic development such as supply of fertilizer, seeds and irrigational facilities were not undertaken by the Christian missions. Thus it became easier for government officials to propagate their programmes of economic development independently and also through Christian missions. Since the Christian missions of Jashpurnagar area are not a competitor, they have helped the government officials in this effort as a result of which Jashpurnagar block shows more achievement than Dumri block.

It may appear surprising that the same organization has different approaches to the same problem in different areas. This is not only applicable to governmental agencies but also to the Christian missions. In Bihar, they work in rivalry to, and in Madhya Pradesh, in cooperation with, the government. There lies a self-interest of the Christian missions in both the areas and the difference in approaches is due to the difference in the level of their own achievement. In Bihar they are in much stronger positions than they are in Madhya Pradesh, and hence they do not care much for the government programmes. Similar programmes are being executed and implemented by their own development workers. Their efforts are meant to increase their popularity and solidify their positions among the people. They believe that the more the dependence of the people on the Christian missions, the greater will be their authority on them. In Jashpurnagar block, on the other hand, missions, in order to create a sense of greater confidence among the people and to have stronger authority over them, have rendered assistance in propagating government programmes. Apart from creating a situation of religious solidarity among the Christians through such schemes, the Christian missions try to make use of the grants for economic development given by the government for their own programmes. Once a certain amount of money was advanced to the tribal people in Jashpurnagar block during 1966-67 for the construction of irrigation wells through the Christian mission. As such most of the benefits went to the Christians only. The amount given to the

individuals were later deposited in the Christian mission bank and the construction of wells in all the arcas was looked after by an official of the Christian mission. The transportation of construction material, employment of labour through their agents in the villages, rate of wages, payment of wages, construction of wells, drilling and all other connected work were supervised by the Christian mission officials. The entire work was got done by engaging people on daily wages in terms of wheat or atta, oil and 50 paise per day. These materials were received by the Christian mission under a scheme of food for work meant for the drought affected areas. Thus the major amount of the government money went into the hands of the mission.

Cooperatives

In the field of economic development cooperative societies have an important place for they contribute much to the economic betterment of the people and create in them a sense of self-dependence. There are some multipurpose cooperative societies (M.P.C.S.) in the contiguous area. In Dumri block advancement of short-term and long-term loans are the main activities of the M.P.C.S. It also supplies fertilizer and seeds. Besides these activities, cooperative stores have also been opened in Jashpurnagar block. Two out of the three sample villages in Dumri and one of the three in Jashpurnagar have cooperative societies. The sample villages which do not have any society are served by the neighbouring cooperative societies.

Blukhampur has a Christian mission bank. In Jashpurnagar block, however, the sample villages do not have any cooperative bank but the mission cooperative bank located at Gholeng serves the Christians of Galonda and Paiku villages. In Bihar the Christian cooperative bank has its headquarters at Ranchi and all mission banks at the headquarters of the different parishes in Chotanagpur are the branches of the Chotanagpur Roman Catholic Cooperative Bank. According to the parish priest of Blukhampur, it was registered in the year 1905. A parish also serves as a commercial bank and its needs are fulfilled by the apex bank at Ranchi.

A mission bank has many functions and provides both the facilities of saving and borrowing. It advances loan for various agricultural and non-agricultural purposes. In Bihar, Christian cooperative bank also supplies fertilizer and improved seeds.

The area of operation is Chotanagpur as far as the apex bank is concerned, while the parish covers the villages under it. The facility is provided to Christians only.

Similarly, in Madhya Pradesh, the bank at Raigarh is the apex body and the various parishes are its branches. It has no programmes for the supply of fertilizers and seeds, though saving and borrowing facilities are afforded. People are generally aware of the existence of cooperative societies either in their own or in the neighbouring villages.

Regarding the type of cooperative society found in the villages, 50 per cent respondents of Suwali and 14.2 per cent of Bhikhampur reported that their society was a money-lending society or in other words, it was an agricultural credit society, while the remaining respondents reported that it was a multipurpose cooperative society, which supplied improved seeds, fertilizer, and short-term and long-term loans. This variation in the response pattern is because the respondents are aware of only one aspect of the activities of the cooperative society with which they are concerned. Similarly cent per cent respondents of Galonda reported that it was a multipurpose cooperative society where, besides other activities, the facilities of cooperative stores were also available. The respondents of Paiku and Kating reported that they were served by Galonda and Lodam M.P.C.S. respectively. The functioning of cooperative societies are more popular in Jashpur-nagar block than in Dumri block.

It was reported by 63.6 per cent of the respondents in Dumri that they were benefited by the cooperative society. These respondents belonged to Suwali (50 per cent) and Bhikhampur (71.4 per cent). None from Bichehra derived any benefit. Bichehra is served by Parsa M.P.C.S., about one and a half miles away. On the other hand, 80.7 per cent of the respondents from Jashpur-nagar block were benefited by the cooperative societies. These respondents belonged to Galonda (100 per cent), Paiku (50 per cent), and Kating (100 per cent). It is interesting to note that Paiku and Kating do not have a cooperative society in the village itself but they are served by Galonda (5 miles) and Lodam (1 mile) M.P.C. societies.

The main reason of such a variation in the responses is because very few people from Suwali got any loan or derived any benefit from the M.P.C.S. Similarly in Bhikhampur 40 per cent respondents who derived benefit reported that they took loans for agricultural development, while the other 60 per cent got benefits in terms of fertilizer and seeds. 40 per cent respondents told that they got loans and seeds from Christian mission cooperative bank. The other reason is that Bhikhampur is a Christian village and the mission there has its own cooperative bank. Every Christian

of Bhikhampur is a member of this cooperative society. There is a feeling among the tribal people that one cannot be a member of two societies at a time. This feeling has deliberately been created among them. Many respondents of this village do not know as to when they became the members of the Christian cooperative bank. They reported that the Christian cooperative bank has been formed by their grand fathers and hence the membership is hereditary. As such the Christians of Bhikhampur are not willing to become members of the M.P.C.S. there. Naturally the benefits are not derived by them. As the Christian missions are having parallel programmes of cooperative bank, societies etc., the government-sponsored cooperative societies are not gaining ground.

In Jashpurnagar block the situation is different. The respondents of different villages reported that the main advantage from cooperative society which they derived was from the cooperative stores where from they purchased their daily requirements of salt, oil, spices, cloth etc. The break-up of percentage of people deriving benefits from cooperative stores is, Galonda 57.7 per cent and Kating 66.7 per cent. Paiku does not derive any benefit because there is no cooperative store there. The villagers expressed a little dissatisfaction at not having a cooperative store as, they said, it was they who wanted a cooperative store in their village but due to various considerations the cooperative store was established at Galonda. Some of the considerations for this were the better communication facility which Galonda enjoys, resourcefulness of the Sarpanch of Galonda Gram Panchayat and non-availability of site for the cooperative store at Paiku. Like Bhikhampur, Galonda is also a Christian village and the Christians are also members of the Christian mission bank at Gholeng, but here the Christian mission bank does not encourage the Christians to associate themselves with the government-sponsored cooperative society. In contrast, the villagers are more active and desire that the cooperative store run by the government should be managed by the villagers themselves and not by the outsiders who are employed by the government. There are educated persons who command respect in the village and are willing to undertake the responsibility.

In Jashpurnagar block 67.3 per cent respondents are reported to be members of the cooperative society. These include respondents from Galonda (73 per cent) and Paiku (80 per cent) but none from Kating because there is no society in the village. Here lies some other basic differences in the approaches of the

governments of the two States. In Dumri, for becoming a member of the cooperative society one has to pay a sum of 50 paise as registration fee and Rs. 10 towards share money which can be paid in instalments. In Jashpurnagar block, on the other hand, members have to pay only Rs. 3.50, as 75 per cent of the share money is subsidized by the government. Out of Rs. 3.50, Re 1 is the registration fee and Rs. 2.50 the share money.

The reason for the cooperatives not gaining ground in Dumri block is that the share money is deducted at the time of advancing loans or credit for agricultural purposes which the people do not like.

Further, in Bihar there is a great difference in the rates of interest. On the loans given by the cooperative society it is $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent while on loans given by mission cooperative bank it is only 4 per cent. Naturally the people prefer the Christian mission cooperative bank. In the latter loans are advanced in time and at short notice, while the government-sponsored cooperative society at times disburses loan when the need has already been met. The supply of fertilizer, seeds etc. are also not made in time, hence they go waste because the persons who give indent for these are forced to collect the same from the cooperative societies when they are of no use to them, and the amount is charged from them later on.

The analysis given above regarding the functioning of cooperative societies run by government and Christian missions can be corroborated by the responses given by the respondents. In Dumri block 45.5 per cent of the respondents reported that the M.P.C.S. was functioning well while 54.5 per cent reported in favour of the Christian mission bank. But the village-wise break up shows that 100 per cent of the respondents from Suwali village said that M.P.C.S. was functioning well and none from this village had any idea about the Christian mission cooperative bank. In Bhikhampur 85.7 per cent of the respondents reported in favour of the Christian mission cooperative bank while only 14.3 per cent in favour of the M.P.C.S. This shows that the Christians are more in favour of the Christian mission cooperative bank. In Jashpurnagar block 60 per cent of the respondents reported that M.P.C.S. was functioning well. These respondents belonged to Galonda and Kating where 100 per cent of them said that it was functioning properly. In Galonda only 5.3 per cent reported that Christian mission cooperative bank was functioning well. This shows that Christian mission cooperative banks are more effective in Dumri block than in Jashpurnagar block. The

respondents of Galonda told in confidence that more of them were having their deposits in the Christian mission bank though loans have been given to only a few persons. Though the benefits from Christian mission bank in Jashpurnagar block is not much, yet the existence of Christian mission bank is reported by all the Christians of Galonda and Paiku. In Paiku even the Saunsar informants reported that Christian missions are also having a cooperative bank. In Bhikahampur village more than 85 per cent respondents reported the existence of the mission bank, while none from Bichehra and Suwali knew about it.

In Dumri block only 38.9 per cent respondents were in favour of the government sponsored cooperative societies while 50 per cent were in favour of mission cooperative society. Among those who showed their preference for a government-sponsored cooperative society were from Suwali (71.4 per cent) and Bichehra (66.7 per cent) and none from Bhikahampur. Contrary to it, 87.5 per cent respondents from Bhikahampur showed their preference for the mission cooperative society. In Jashpurnagar block the situation was different. 47.5 per cent respondents preferred government-sponsored cooperative society while only 25 per cent preferred mission cooperative society. Besides, 12.5 per cent respondents preferred both, while 25 per cent respondents said that they would prefer such a society where the rate of interest would be less. Among those who preferred the government sponsored cooperative societies were 100 per cent from Kating, 68.8 per cent from Paiku and 15.8 per cent from Galonda. In Galonda village there were 21 per cent respondents who preferred both types of cooperative societies, while 47.4 per cent exclusively preferred a mission cooperative society.

The main reasons put forward by those who are in favour of the government-sponsored cooperative society is that it serves all without any discrimination. Such responses were from both the blocks. The respondents who preferred Christian mission cooperative society gave different reasons in different blocks. In Dumri block the respondents preferred mission cooperative societies because, as they said, 'We are Christians and so we want to be in our own mission's fold'. This reason was given by 77.8 per cent of respondents. In Jashpurnagar block the reasons were not based on religion but on rational grounds. The important reasons given by the respondents in favour of their preference for mission cooperative society are their proper management and lesser rate of interest. According to 10.5 per cent respondents each their preference is due to the fact that they have no fear in dealing with

the Christian mission, secondly the management is proper, and thirdly because of their affiliation with Christian mission. 5.2 per cent each reported that the Christian mission cooperative banks charge less interest and they are being run efficiently.

For the proper functioning of the different types of cooperative societies 61.1 per cent respondents in Dumri block and 7.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar block could not suggest any measures. But for the proper functioning of the government-sponsored cooperative societies many respondents from Galonda village suggested various measures. 47.4 per cent suggested that the supply of stock be regular, 42 per cent that enough stock should be made available and provision for the sale of agricultural tools and implements be introduced, 10.5 per cent that the villagers should be associated with the management of the cooperative society, and 5.2 per cent each suggested that the timings of the cooperative store be regular, personnel should be honest, and the cooperative stores be well-stocked. In Dumri block only 42.9 per cent from Suwali village suggested that loans be given in time, while only 12.5 per cent each from Bhikhampur suggested that every one should be a member of the cooperative society and the development workers should also be available all the time, so that the villagers may not face difficulty in getting the loans.

Thus it is evident from the varied responses from the two blocks that cooperative movement is more popular in Jashpurnagar block than in Dumri block.

As far as the banking facilities in rural area is concerned, there is no post office saving bank facilities available in Dumri block. The gram panchayat officials have to keep their money in the post office saving bank at Chainpur far away from the villages. As such, not a single informant from Dumri block could tell about the nature and function of a post office saving bank. However, those who are members in the gram panchayat suggested that such facilities be provided at Dumri, Lawabar and Bhikhampur post offices.

In Jashpurnagar block too, there is no saving bank facility in the rural post offices. However, the respondents know that such facilities are available in Jashpurnagar post office. The villagers realize the need for saving bank facilities in rural post offices.

Though there is no banking facility in the rural post offices of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks, the Christian mission banks operate in both the areas.

The main functions of the mission bank in Dumri block are

to provide the facilities of saving and lending to the people. The tribal people deposit their savings in the mission bank. Students also deposit the amount of their scholarships. In Bihar and Madhya Pradesh the rate of interest paid by the mission bank differs according to the categories. There are three different categories of deposits A, B and C.

Indebtedness

The economy of the tribal people in the contiguous area is, by and large, a deficit economy and the people are largely in debt. They have to borrow from various sources in cash or kind or both. The extent of indebtedness among the tribal people in the contiguous area may be well understood from the following table.

Table III.1. Extent of indebtedness in the contiguous area

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Percentage of families in debt</i>
Dumri	66.7
Jashpurnagar	77.5

In Dumri 66.7 per cent of the respondents or the members of their family and in Jashpurnagar 77.5 per cent are in debt. More people are in debt in Jashpurnagar than in Dumri. Christian villages show higher percentages of respondents who are in debt, while the Saunsar of Suwali and Kating show less percentage of respondents under debt. The percentage range of respondents in debt lies between 57 per cent and 75 per cent in the sample villages of Dumri block and between 60 per cent and 89.5 per cent in the sample villages of Jashpurnagar block.

In this case Jashpurnagar block shows a trend quite opposite to that shown by it in other cases. Earlier it was seen that this block was progressive in all other respects but here it is seen that the people are more in debt than they are in Dumri block. But on closer scrutiny it will be seen that the trend of responses here is not entirely at variance with the trend shown earlier.

The higher indebtedness in Jashpurnagar is firstly because of more investment in their development programmes. Secondly, the capacity to repay the loan is more in the people of Jashpurnagar block than of Dumri block.

The sources of obtaining loan are various such as, multipurpose cooperative society, mission cooperative bank, government-sponsored grain gola, mission-sponsored grain gola and the well-to-do fellow villagers. The agencies which extend credit facilities

to the people in both the areas are the same. However, there is a difference in the extent of dependence of the tribal people on each of them.

Table III.2. Sources of obtaining loans

Blocks	Percentage of respondents obtaining loans from						
	Govt. coop.	Mission coop.	Govt. grain gola	Mission grain gola	Bhai gola	Fellow villagers	Others
Dumri	25.0	41.7	33.8	8.3	—	8.3	8.3
Jashpurnagar	9.7	3.2	32.3	38.7	35.7	16.1	19.4

In Dumri block more people depend on the Christian mission cooperative bank for obtaining loans. It is reported that since only the Christians get the facilities, 41.7 per cent of the total respondents of Dumri block are said to have availed of the facilities afforded by the mission bank. On the other hand, in Jashpurnagar block Christian mission cooperative bank is the least active agency as far as credit facilities are concerned. Only 3.2 per cent of the total respondents are said to have taken loans from this bank. The Christian villages of Bhikhampur and Galonda recorded 83.3 per cent and 5.9 per cent respondents respectively who had taken loans from the Christian mission bank. The government-sponsored cooperative is more popular in Dumri block (25 per cent) than in Jashpurnagar block (9.7 per cent) so far as borrowing of loans is concerned.

The tribal people obtain loans also from grain golas. The cooperative societies advance loans in cash and the grain golas in kind. The people of both the blocks depend on grain golas when their store of grain is exhausted. Grain golas are of two types in Dumri block : government grain gola and mission grain gola. A third type is also in existence which is run and managed by a handful of villagers and hence known as *bhaigola*.¹ In every mixed Christian and Saunsar village of the two blocks where there is a government grain gola, mission grain gola is also there. In Bichhra, Bhikhampur, Galonda and Paiku both the government and mission grain golas are in existence. Besides these, in Galonda and Paiku villages *bhaigolas* are also there.

¹Another type of grain gola managed by the villagers who contribute their own shares of subscription in kind, and the members of this gola borrow from it at the time of need.

Only 33.3 per cent of the total respondents from Dumri block took loans from the government grain gola but in Suwali and Bhikhampur only 25 per cent and 16.7 per cent respondents respectively took loans which shows that the government grain gola has not been of much help as has been reported by the respondents of Bichhra village (100 per cent). But in comparison to the government cooperative societies the government grain golas are more popular. The government grain golas have created a similar impact in Jashpurnagar block where 32.3 per cent of the total respondents took loans from them. But the sample villages show a very contrasting feature. In Kating nobody took any loan from the grain gola, while in Galonda, a Christian village, only 5.9 per cent and in Paiku 81.8 per cent respondents took loans from the government grain golas. It is significant to note here that the dependence of a mixed village is more on the government grain gola as has been revealed from the responses of Bichhra and Paiku, while the Christian villages of Bhikhampur and Galonda show less dependence on the government grain gola.

The source for obtaining loans in Jashpurnagar block is mostly the mission grain gola. 38.7 per cent of the total respondents from Jashpurnagar took loans from it. Mostly the Christians were benefited, as, in Galonda 64.7 per cent and in Paiku 91 per cent respondents took loans from the mission grain gola. On the other hand, only 8.3 per cent of the total respondents from Dumri block took loans from the mission grain gola. This shows that the mission grain gola is not an active agency for the credit facilities in Dumri block. Even from Bhikhampur, a Christian village, nobody took loan from the mission grain gola. 35.7 per cent of the total respondents in Jashpurnagar block took loans from the *bhaigola*. Among the respondents of the sample village 47 per cent and 27.3 per cent from Galonda and Paiku respectively took loans from the *bhaigola*. The dependence of the people on fellow villagers and relatives and other government agencies are only to the extent of 16.1 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively. The dependence on such agencies in Paiku is 36.4 per cent and in Kating 100 per cent.

In comparison to the mission cooperative society, the mission grain gola is less efficient in Dumri, while it is the other way round in Jashpurnagar. The reason is not that of inefficient functioning of the grain gola but the relative need of the people. In Dumri the people are more interested in getting cash loans, though they take loan in kind as well, while in Jashpurnagar

people took loans mostly in kind. Hence this disparity in the functioning of the mission cooperative society and the mission grain gola.

Another form of credit facility provided to the tribal people of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks is the *chhara* system. Under this a loanee who takes a loan of, say, Rs. 10 has to pay as interest one maund of paddy after the harvest. So long as the principal amount is not repaid, the same rate of interest is charged on the principal amount even if part of it is repaid. The local money-lenders are now-a-days interested in giving loans under the *chhara* system and they regularly collect the interest in terms of paddy.

It is evident from tables III.3. and III.4. that in Dumri block people are equally interested in getting loans in cash and kind while in Jashpurnagar borrowing in kind is more popular. 66.7 per cent respondents from Dumri block took loans in cash, while only 29 per cent in Jashpurnagar block did so. In Jashpurnagar block 97 per cent of the respondents took loans in kind, while in Dumri block 41.7 per cent did so. The aggregate of respondents who took loans in both cash and kind is more than 100 per cent because some of the respondents took loans both in cash and kind. The extent of loans in terms of money and maunds of grain taken by the people in both the blocks is given in the following table.

Table III.3. Extent of loan taken in cash (see table III.4)

Blocks	Percentage of respondents and amounts of loan in cash				
	Below Rs. 100	101- 200	201- 300	301- 400	401- 500
Dumri	41.7	16.7	8.3	—	—
Jashpurnagar	12.9	9.7	—	3.2	3.2

In Dumri block the percentage of respondents who took loans in cash varies indirectly as the amount of loan. Among them, 41.7 per cent took loans of less than Rs. 100, while 16.7 per cent between Rs. 101 and 200 and 8.3 per cent between Rs. 201 and 300. Similar trend is also seen in Jashpurnagar block. But the most striking difference in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks is that in Dumri the amount of loan taken by the people falls in the range of Rs. 1 to 300 only while in Jashpurnagar it is in the

range of Rs. 1 to 500. Persons who took loan of an amount of more than Rs. 300 are from Galonda village. Golonda is comparatively more progressive in comparison to Paiku and Kating, hence the capacity to pay off the dues is more among its inhabitants. But the percentage of those who took more than Rs. 300 is 6.4 per cent only, while none is reported to have taken loan of Rs. 201 to 300, while in Dumri block 8.3 per cent fall in this range. In most cases the amount of loan falls in the range of Rs. 1 to 200 only in which 58.4 per cent are in Dumri block and 22.6 per cent in Jashpurnagar. This shows that the needs of the people are petty and do not involve much burden.

The following table shows the extent of loan taken in kind.

Table III 4. Extent of loan taken in kind (see table III.3)

Blocks	Percentage of respondents and amount of loan in kind (in maunds)				
	Less than 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-40
Dumri	41.7	—	—	—	—
Jashpurnagar	53.6	25.0	10.7	7.1	3.6

Table III.4. shows that in Dumri block only 41.7 per cent respondents took loans in kind which were less than five maunds. But in Jashpurnagar block 53.57 per cent respondents took less than five maunds of grain as loan in kind, while 25 per cent took 6 to 10 maunds, and 21.4 per cent took 11 to 40 maunds.

It is evident from the above tables that in Jashpurnagar block people prefer to take loans in kind, while in Dumri block the preference is for both cash and kind.

The purposes for which loans are taken are many, such as, food for consumption, seeds, payment of wages, purchase of bullocks etc.

One of the main purposes of taking loans is consumption. In Dumri block 83.3 per cent as against 83.87 per cent in Jashpurnagar block took loan for this purpose. The next important item taken on loan is seeds. In Dumri 25 per cent and in Jashpurnagar 13 per cent respondents took loans for seeds. In Dumri block 8.3 per cent and in Jashpurnagar 3.2 per cent took loans for fertilizer. 3.2 per cent respondents each from Jashpurnagar block took loans for paying the school dues, for land development, and for opening a shop.

The rate of interest on loans in kind varies according to the agencies advancing loans. The government and the mission grain golas charge 25 per cent interest per annum on the grain given on loan, while the *bhaigola* charges 50 per cent. The main reason for this high rate charged by *bhaigola* is that the non-members of *bhaigola* are not to depend much on them and hence the members get benefit whenever they want. The *bhaigola* also charges 25 per cent interest from the members only. In this way *bhaigola* attracts villagers to become members, so that they can get loan at a very short notice and at a lower rate of interest.

On loans given in cash the mission banks and the cooperative societies charge $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent interest per annum. The money-lenders charge $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in cash and 50 per cent in kind. The fellow villagers do not charge any interest against the loan given in cash. It is treated as *hath panch*.¹ But they charge 50 per cent interest on loans in kind. The perpetual indebtedness of the people is also due to their incapacities of repaying loans in time.

83.3 per cent respondents in Dumri block and 74.2 per cent in Jashpurnagar had not repaid their loans, mainly because the harvesting was not over at the time of study. Mostly the repayment is made only after the harvest of cash crops. As very few of them get a surplus yield of paddy, they do not want to part with paddy and prefer to repay the loans with cash crops.

The mode of repayment of loan is both by cash and kind. In Dumri block, the respondents who had repaid their loans reported that they did so in cash only. From Suwali and Bichhra none had repaid his loans but 100 per cent of respondents from Bhikhampur who had repaid their loans said that they had paid in cash. However, the case histories of the respondents show that 33.3 per cent and 66.7 per cent respondents from Suwali repaid the loans in cash and kind respectively. In Jashpurnagar block 12.5 per cent and 87.5 per cent respondents repaid their loans in cash and kind respectively.

In Dumri 50 per cent of the respondents who had repaid their loans said that they had sold paddy to pay off their debt, while the remaining 50 per cent said that they had taken loan from their daughters for repaying the loans. In Jashpurnagar 50 per cent respondents who repaid their loans said that they did so after harvest, and the rest 50 per cent said it was from their own earning or saving that they repaid the loans.

In Dumri block all the respondents repaid their loans in

¹It literally means loan given by hand. It is for a very short duration.

full along with interest. In Jashpurnagar, 87·5 per cent respondents repaid the interest only, while the principal amount was still to be repaid. The remaining 12·5 per cent had cleared their debts by paying both the principal amount and the interest.

Only a few of the respondents suggested measures to do away with indebtedness. In Dumri block 5·25 per cent respondents each suggested that the economic condition be improved; the marketing and communicational facilities be also improved and employment avenues be created. 12·5 per cent suggested increase in production. All the respondents were from Bhikhampur. In Bichhra one respondent felt that the government could not do anything for them, and it was for the people to avoid taking loans, while, on the contrary, a respondent from Suwali reported that the government should provide them credit facilities.

In Jashpurnagar block 5·8 per cent respondents reported that the government should provide credit facilities. These respondents were from Paiku and Kating. While 1·9 per cent respondents each from Jashpurnagar block who belonged to Paiku said that inputs for agricultural land should be given and the *parchunia* system should be restricted if it cannot be completely abolished. 14·9 per cent respondents each from Jashpurnagar block said that people should utilize government grain gola and the equal distribution of land be also made. From Jashpurnagar 7·7 per cent respondents each reported that prices should be stabilized, export of grain from the village and area be checked and less interest on loans be charged.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION

THE PRESENT SYSTEM of education among the tribal people dates back to the late 19th century. The credit goes to the Indian Education Commission, 1882 which examined, *inter alia*, the problems of education of the tribal people and made important recommendations for development of education among them. Important among the various suggestions was that the tribal children be exempted from payment of fees and additional grants may be given to private schools on account of the tribal children attending them.

Before Independence, no significant effort was made by the government to identify or to solve the problems of education of the tribal people. Since Independence concerted effort has been made for the development of the scheduled tribes on the basis of the provision made in the Constitution under article 46. Since then the programmes of tribal welfare and development have been taken up and priority is given to educational programmes as a prerequisite to an overall development of the tribal people.

Programmes of educational development in the tribal areas were also undertaken by voluntary agencies like the Christian missions and a few others.

The Christian missions have been providing education facilities from the pre-Independence period and they have made rapid progress in this field. Similarly, since Independence, the Adimjati Seva Mandal, a non-official agency in Bihar has also engaged itself in the educational development of the tribal people. It has also been running some schools including ashram schools and hostels in Bihar.

In Madhya Pradesh, Kalyan Ashram is also an agency which has no official support as it does not get any grant from the government. Kalyan Ashram runs its nucleus unit at Jashpurnagar which is entirely financed by public subscription. It runs a middle school at Jashpurnagar.

Educational Facilities in the Two Sample Blocks

The educational facilities available in the two sample blocks are almost the same except at the college level. In Jashpurnagar there is a degree college where commerce and arts subjects are taught. Besides, a training college is also there. These are private colleges run by the National Education Society, Jabalpur. There is no college in Dumri block.

The following table shows the number and type of schools/colleges in the contiguous area.

Table IV.1. Number and types of schools/colleges in the contiguous area

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>College</i>
Dumri	74	11	4	—
Jashpurnagar	51	8	4	2

In both Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks for every middle school there are about seven primary schools, and for every high school there are three middle schools in Dumri and two in Jashpurnagar. In Jashpurnagar there are two boys' high schools and two girls' high schools whereas there is no high school for girls in Dumri. One proposed high school is running at Bhikhampur which has been included in the above table.

Table IV.2 Population served by different types of schools

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Total population</i>	<i>No of primary schools</i>	<i>Population served by a primary school</i>	<i>No of middle schools</i>	<i>Population served by a middle school</i>	<i>No of high schools</i>	<i>Population served by a high school</i>
Dumri	45,289	74	612	11	4,117	4	11,322
Jashpurnagar	40,159	51	787	8	5,020	4	10,040

In Dumri block the population served by a primary and a middle school respectively is less than the population served in Jashpurnagar block. It means that educational facility is slightly more in Dumri than in Jashpurnagar. But the situation is the opposite in the case of high schools as, for about every ten thousand persons there is one high school in Jashpurnagar but one high school serves more than 11 thousand persons in Dumri block,

The educational facilities are mainly provided by the Government, District Board, Janpad, Adimjati Seva Mandal, Kalyan Ashram and Christian missions. They run mostly primary schools. The following table gives the number of schools run by these agencies.

Table IV.3. Number of schools run by the various agencies

<i>Types of school</i>	<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Govt.</i>	<i>Distt Board or Janpad</i>	<i>Adimjati Seva Mandal</i>	<i>Kalyan Ashram</i>	<i>Chris-tian mission</i>	<i>Proposed</i>	<i>Total</i>
Primary	Dumri	31	1	3	—	37	2	74
	Jashpur-nagar	22	19	—	1	9	—	51
Middle	Dumri	3	—	1	—	3	4	11
	Jashpur-nagar	3	2	—	1	2	—	8
High	Dumri	—	—	1	—	2	1	4
	Jashpur-nagar	2	—	—	—	2	—	4

It is noted from the above table that in Dumri block the Christian missions and the government are the two major agencies running schools. There are 37 primary schools run by the Christian missions which is 50 per cent of the total number of primary schools in this block. These primary schools also include two schools of G.E.L. mission. The government runs 31, that is, 41.89 per cent of the total number of primary schools in this block. The primary schools run by the government include six schools which are categorized as special aboriginal school (under welfare department) and 12 E.I.P. schools under the Central Government scheme. Besides, there are three schools run by Adimjati Seva Mandal, one by the District Board, and two are proposed primary schools.

In Jashpurnagar block, 22 (43.1 per cent) primary schools are run by the government in the tribal welfare department. The Janpad runs 19 (37.2 per cent) schools. Most of these schools have been taken over by the state government in the education and tribal welfare departments. In comparison to Dumri block, Jashpurnagar block has only 9 (17.6 per cent) primary schools run by the Christian missions. Superficially it appears that the

Christian missions are more active in the field of education in Dumri block than in Jashpurnagar. But this is not the fact. Almost every one in the area is of the opinion that the Christian missions run a number of schools, but most of them are unrecognized. Almost all the villages, whether entirely Christian or mixed, have one school run by the Christian mission even if there is a school already existing in the area. Since such schools are unrecognized, their names do not occur in the list. In the opinion of the people of Jashpurnagar block, the Christian missions are competing with government for opening and running schools.

There is no restriction in admission to mission schools of non-Christian tribal boys and girls but there is restriction on the Christians who are persuaded and coerced to send their children only to a mission school.

The Christian mission is also making efforts to propagate education among the girls and primary schools for them have also been opened in different villages of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks. Though such schools are meant exclusively for girls, yet boys are also admitted.

Both Christian missions and the government are active in spreading middle school education. In Dumri there are three middle schools each run by the government and the mission, while in Jashpurnagar block there are three such schools managed by the government in the tribal welfare department and two by the mission, while two more middle schools are run by the Janpad and one by Kalyan Ashram. There is one middle school run by the Adimjati Seva Mandal in Dumri block and four are proposed middle schools.

Though the Christian missions are more active, the Adimjati Seva Mandal has also taken steps to impart high school education in Dumri block. But there is no high school run by the government. At Bhikhampur there is one proposed high school. It was started by the villagers of Bhikhampur Panchayat and contribution was raised for the same. The land was acquired and the school building was also constructed. The managing committee of the school appointed teachers and a headmaster, whose salary was paid out of the subscription raised from the villagers and the school fee charged from the students.

But now some factions were reported to have developed among the villagers and teachers. It was reported that the Christians who are in the managing committee are mostly guided by the local parish priest, while the non-Christians have their own leaders and spokesmen. Since the villagers contributed and started

the school, they want that it should not fall into the hands of the Christian mission. A few local teachers and other villagers also share this view. On the other hand, some of them are in favour of the mission taking over the school under its control. That the educational institutions are a source of income to the mission, is the view openly expressed by many non-Christians. The other reasons why the mission is anxious to take it over is the big plot of land donated by the villagers for the school building. If this plot comes under the mission then it will have a big area under it. The adverse effect of this is also seen in the administration of the school. The first headmaster was appointed by the managing committee. Later on, an important official of the mission managed to enter into the managing committee and somehow became powerful in association with the Christian villagers. The first managing committee was dissolved and a new one represented by his own men formed. The first headmaster was demoted and a new teacher was appointed as headmaster. The first was a non-Christian and the second a Christian, hence this has led to mutual conflict among the teachers and villagers.

In Dumri block this trend is very common. In the beginning, the people, with great efforts open a school, and when it starts functioning well the Christian missions try to take it over by giving some aid to one teacher who works as a *prachar* among the students. In order to please the villagers, it is alleged, the mission gives a non-religious and non-political name to the school and thus gains their confidence. In one village the people felt that the District Education Officer, being a Christian, did not recognize the school, so long the original managing committee was functioning, but now, the school is likely to be recognized since reconstituted management has gone into the hands of the Christian mission. The villagers and local leaders want that something should be done to check this, otherwise the objectives with which the high school was started will not be fulfilled and it will become a tool of the Christian mission in achieving their own goal.

The situation at Jashpurnagar block is slightly different. Both the government and the mission run two high schools each. Unlike Dumri, Jashpurnagar block has two girls' high schools. The education of girls has been neglected in Dumri block. Besides the degree college in Jashpurnagar, there are two basic training schools for girls, one at Gholeng managed by the mission and the other at Jashpurnagar run by the government. Very few people know about the basic training school for girls at Gholeng. It was started about two years ago and the recognition has also been

accorded reportedly at the initiative of the Collector of Raigarh.

Educational Facility in the Sample Villages

Out of the three sample villages in each of the two blocks, only two in each of them have schools. The following table shows the village-wise distribution of schools.

Table IV 4. Number of schools in the sample villages

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>No. of schools</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Dumri	Suwali	1	E.I.P. School
	Bichohra	Nil	
	Bhikhampur	3	Two middle schools run by mission, 1 high school established by villagers now managed by the mission.
Jashpurnagar	Galonda	2	One school each by the Janpad and the Christian mission.
	Paiku	2	One school each by the Janpad and the Christian mission.
	Kating	Nil	

Suwali and Bhikhampur in Dumri block and Galonda and Paiku in Jashpurnagar block have primary schools. Only Bhikhampur has one proposed high school and two middle schools. All the three schools at Bhikhampur are managed by the mission. The primary school at Suwali is managed by the government under the E.I.P. scheme. The lower primary school of Suwali was established in the year 1959. It is a proposed upper primary school. At Bhikhampur the boys' middle school is running since 1911. It was a primary school till 1948. In 1949 it was upgraded to a middle school. Similarly the girls' primary school was established at Bhikhampur on the 18th July 1954 which was later upgraded to middle standard on 1st January 1963.

There are two primary schools each in Galonda and Paiku villages of Jashpurnagar block. One school in each village is managed by the mission and the other by the Janpad. Hence there is a great deal of competition and conflict between the two agencies. These two villages are bigger in comparison to Suwali and Bhikhampur. But there is no justification in having two schools at Galonda. Galonda is a Christian village and all the

Christians, as a rule, send their children to the mission school, hence there are very few students at Galonda Janpad school. At Paiku the situation is slightly different because the distribution of Christian and non-Christian population is almost even. The non-Christians send their children to the Janpad school and the Christians to the mission school. Hence the Janpad school here has a considerable number of students as compared to that of Galonda. The primary school at Galonda run by the mission was established as early as 1908 as a lower primary school and upgraded to an upper primary school in 1947.

In this connection it would be useful to correlate the strength of students and schools in the villages under study. The details of only four villages having schools are given in the following table.

Table IV.5 Strength of students and schools

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>No. of schools</i>	<i>Strength of students</i>		
				<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Dumri	Suwali	Primary	1	56	24	80
	Bhikhampur	Middle	2	237	207	444
		Proposed high	1	60	—	60
Jashpurnagar	Galonda	Primary	2	104	75	179
	Paiku	Primary	2	131	60	191

The above table shows that in Suwali there are 80 students in the primary school while the average number of students in each primary school in Galonda and Paiku are 89 and 95 respectively. The average number of students in a middle school is 222. The ratios of school to boy students and to girl students respectively stand at 1:237 and 1:207. The proposed high school at Bhikhampur has 60 students in all. It was started in 1965, hence in 1966 there were only two classes—VIII and IX.

In Dumri block the ratio of a primary school to the number of students is 1:69. It shows that at the block level the ratio is comparatively less than that in Suwali village. In Jashpurnagar block the ratio stands at 1:82 while in Galonda and Paiku villages it is 1:89 and 1:95 respectively. Here again it is seen that at the block level the ratio is less in comparison to the villages.

When the ratio of both the blocks is compared, it is seen that at Dumri block the ratio is less than what it is at Jashpurnagar block as far as primary school is concerned.

It may now be examined whether the number of teachers is adequate in the schools of the sample villages. In Suwahi, the school has two teachers and the teacher-pupil ratio is 1:40. But, for the last two years a lady teacher is also working there, who is not an employee of the government, but she gets her salary out of the contributions raised from the students. This is an internal arrangement between the headmaster and the Pramukh of Dumri Panchayat Samiti. It may be mentioned here that the lady teacher is a relation of the Pramukh and all the three (lady teacher, headmaster and Pramukh) are Christian and belong to the same village. The other teacher is also a Christian. If the lady teacher is also taken into consideration the teacher-pupil ratio would be 1:27 which is quite reasonable considering the standard ratio of 1:40. In Dumri this ratio stands at 1:40 at the block level. On the other hand, at Galonda and Paiku schools it is 1:30 and 1:32 respectively as against the ratio of 1:32 in Jashpurnagar block, which thus shows a slightly lower ratio than does Dumri block as far as primary education is concerned. If a comparison is made of the teacher-pupil ratio of the Janpad and mission schools (as revealed by enrolment in their schools) it is found that at Galonda it is 1:16 and 1:37 respectively while at Paiku it is 1:30 and 1:34 respectively. There is hardly any difference in the teacher-pupil ratio of Janpad and mission schools in Paiku though in Galonda the difference is great.

It may be pointed out here that the comparison of this ratio at the middle school and high school standard is not possible, because the sample villages of Jashpurnagar block do not have any middle or high school.

In none of the two villages each of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks the necessity of having more schools has been felt.

In Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks of the contiguous area mostly the Oraon respondents reported that there was no necessity of school in their villages. It is interesting to note that even the respondents from Kating village which does not have a school reported that they did not feel the necessity of a school in the village. This does not mean that they are not aware of the utility of education, it is simply because a primary school already exists in Pondi village which is hardly half a mile from Kating, and also because a primary and a middle school run at Lodam, about one and a half miles away from Kating. In contrast to

this, all the respondents of Bichchra village of Dumri expressed the need for a school in the village because the neighbouring school at Parsa is more than one and a half miles away. The two respondents of Suwali expressed the necessity of a middle school in the village because the neighbouring schools at Nawadih and Tangardi are more than five miles away from Suwali. The other respondents of Suwali did not express the need explicitly but did show their willingness to have one, similarly the respondents of Paiku also felt the need of a middle school but such feelings were mostly expressed by the Saunsar and not by the Christian Oraons.

Though all the respondents were not in favour of having a school, the Christian members of Paiku did not oppose the idea of having a middle school in the village unlike the respondents of Galonda. It appears that Christian respondents of Paiku are not the blind followers of the Christian mission because the village, as reported by the people, is seldom visited by the priest and other mission authorities. This village, the people feel, is neglected by the Christian mission. The other reason is that the Christian and Saunsar Oraons do not form clear-cut groups in Paiku because there are several families in which one brother is a Christian and the other a Saunsar. Moreover, there are many cases of reconversion of Christians into the Saunsar fold, which shows that the village has not accepted Christianity in its totality, and that the influence of their traditional customs and practices are still stronger and to some extent binding on them. In this sense the Oraon of Paiku differ from the Oraon of Galonda. The latter are strong supporters of the Christian mission and their activities are more intense here. Hence they are not demanding a middle school in the village in spite of the fact that the percentage of school-going children in Galonda is more than in other villages.

70 per cent of the children of school-going age in the sample villages of Dumri block and 81.5 per cent of Jashpurnagar block go to school. In the sample villages of Dumri block 88 per cent boys and 54 per cent girls of school-going age go to schools. In the sample villages of Jashpurnagar block 86 per cent boys and 74.2 per cent girls of school-going age go to school. Thus it is clear that the girls' education is more popular in Jashpurnagar block than in Dumri block. But it is also evident that girls' education is lagging behind boys' education in both the blocks of the contiguous area.

The average percentage of literacy in the sample villages of Dumri block of the contiguous area is 23.7, while that in the

villages of Jashpurnagar block is 30.4. Thus it can be said that Jashpurnagar block is educationally more developed than Dumri block.

Another interesting feature is that in Jashpurnagar block the percentages of literacy in all the sample villages fall between 23 and 32 per cent and there is a difference of only 9 per cent between the lowest and the highest rates, whereas the sample villages of Dumri block show a marked difference and the percentage of literacy in them ranges between 6 and 46.

Wastage

One of the main reasons of the slow progress of education among the tribes is attributed to the problems of wastage and stagnation. Wastage can be defined 'as the withdrawal or dropping out of a student before completing a given course. Generally when a student takes more than one year to pass a class it is considered a case of stagnation'¹

The comparison of the extent of wastage in the two blocks of the contiguous area is not possible because the wastage figures of the sample villages of Dumri block were not available, but there is a marked difference in the percentages of wastage in the sample villages Galonda and Paiku of Jashpurnagar block. At Galonda, the mission school shows 75 per cent wastage at the primary level, while the Janpad school shows 58 per cent. The situation in Paiku village is just the opposite. The mission school shows less wastage (21 per cent) than the Janpad school (40 per cent).

In Dumri block the dropouts are more (60 per cent) in comparison to that in Jashpurnagar block (30 per cent). As far as the general trend in the two blocks of the contiguous area is concerned the reasons attributed to higher percentage of dropouts in Dumri block is the lack of incentive to both students and parents.

In Dumri block there is no provision for the supply of either milk, or midday meal. Moreover, scholarships are given to only a selected few. In Jashpurnagar block all the above facilities are provided and scholarship is meant for all the tribal students.

The details of the causes of dropouts as reported by the sample families are given below.

¹L. R. N. Srivastava, 'Working Paper', *Tribal Education in India, Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India*, Tribal Education Unit, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1967, p. 18

Table IV 6. Causes of dropouts in the contiguous area

Block	Percentage of respondents reporting following causes						
	Failure in examination	Could not devote to studies for economic reasons	Bad treatment or punishment by teachers	Death in the family	Illness	Inability to pay fee	Did not like to continue
Dumri	22.2	44.5	—	11.1	—	—	22.2
Jashpuranagar	41.8	25.0	8.3	—	8.3	8.3	8.3

The causes of dropout as reported by the sample families show that failure in examination and economic hardship of the families are the two major causes. However, there are also some other causes such as illness, punishment by the teacher, non-payment of fee and students' dislike of their studies etc.

As far as the non-payment of fee as a cause of dropout at the primary level is concerned, it seems to be a wrong statement because no fee is charged by schools. But some contribution is charged by the mission schools which is known as fee among the people, and the reference here in all probability is of the contribution rather than of the fee.

Financial Assistance

In Bihar the financial assistance is given by the government alone in the form of

- I. Stipends and hostel grants,
- II. Stipends in technical schools,
- III. Book grants in general schools, and
- IV. Exemption from tuition fee.

The above schemes of financial assistance operate at district level and none of the above schemes is meant exclusively for tribal students. The facilities are also meant for students of backward classes. The main criterion for selection of students for any particular form of assistance is merit-cum-means. The tuition fee is not charged from the tribal students. The benefit of tuition fee is the only assistance which is applicable universally to all the tribal students. The rate of stipends, hostel grants and book grants are given in the following table.

Table IV.7. Rates of stipends, hostel grants and book grants

<i>State</i>	<i>Classes</i>	<i>Stipend per month</i>	<i>Hostel grant per month</i>	<i>Book grant per annum</i>	
Bihar	I to V	Rs. 4	Nil	Rs. 7	
	VI to VII	Rs. 10	Rs. 20	Rs. 10	
	VIII to XI or				
	XI Special	Rs. 15	Rs. 50	Rs. 15	
		<i>Scholarship per month</i>		<i>Hostel grant per month for both boys & girls</i>	
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>At distt. headquarters</i>	<i>At tehsil headquarters</i>
Madhya Pradesh	VI to VIII	Rs. 10	Rs. 15	Rs. 30	Rs. 25
	IX to XI	Rs. 15	Rs. 22 50	Rs. 30	Rs. 25

It is seen that the rates of stipends, scholarships and hostel grants are slightly higher in Madhya Pradesh than in Bihar. In all, 29.4 per cent of the respondents of the sample villages of Dumri block reported that free education was given to the tribal students. Besides, 76.5 per cent reported about the facilities of stipends or scholarships. 17.6 per cent reported that no facility was given by the government to the tribal students. No student from Bichhra received any benefit, hence they were not aware of the various schemes of providing financial assistance to the tribal students. Since the students from Bichhra go to Parsa mission school, they have to pay some fee in terms of contribution. At Bhikhampur also the schools are run by the mission where fee is charged in terms of contribution, hence none of the respondents reported that the tribal students were exempted from paying fee. On the contrary, 83.3 per cent of the respondents of Suwali village reported that no fee was charged in the school. All the respondents of Bhikhampur reported that stipends or scholarships were given by the government, while only 66.7 per cent and 33.3 per cent of the respondents of Suwali and Bichhra respectively reported that stipends were given to the tribal students.

The scheme of financial assistance in Madhya Pradesh is slightly different from that in Bihar. There the assistance at primary level is given in kind by supplying textbooks, slates and pencils. In middle, high and higher secondary schools the assistance is given in cash. Secondly, scholarships and hostel grants are given to all tribal students. The difference is that in Madhya Pradesh no criterion of merit-cum-means is adopted.

It is found that the tribal girl students get comparatively a higher rate of scholarship than the boys. However, the rates of scholarship for boys do not show any variation with the rates in Bihar. But rates of hostel grants vary. In Madhya Pradesh it is Rs. 30 per month for all pre-matric tribal students living in hostels at district headquarters and Rs. 25 per month in hostels at tehsil headquarters. This variation is due to variation in the cost of living at the two places. Another important thing to be noted in this context is that scholarships, hostel grants etc. are tenable for a period of 10 months in a year in Madhya Pradesh.

In Jashpurnagar block as a whole (based on the sample village figures) 90 per cent of the respondents reported that they were not to pay tuition fee, 87.5 per cent reported that in the primary school, government also supplied free of cost textbooks, slates and pencils, and 95 per cent reported that scholarships were also given. The Christians of Bhikhampur, on the other hand, reported that they have to pay fee in terms of subscription in mission school, but in Galonda all of them (Christians) said that no tuition fee was to be paid, though all of them said that they had to give the subscription and it was not fee. The difference is that in Bihar the contribution charged in the mission school is regarded as tuition fee by the local people, while in Madhya Pradesh the people do not consider it as such. At Paiku 75 per cent of the respondents said that they were exempted from paying tuition fee, while the rest 25 per cent said that they paid contribution to the mission school, while all the respondents of Kating admitted that no fee was paid by them. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents of the sample villages reported about the facilities of hostel grants. The main reason is that all the tribal students of Galonda who live in hostel at Gholeng mission school have to pay for their maintenance at the rate of five maunds of rice and one and a half maunds of pulse towards their annual expenditure on food. Hence they do not know about the assistance of hostel grants. Similarly at Kating no one lives in hostels as they go to Lodam middle school and none is reading in high school. So they did not say anything about the facility of hostel grant.

Attitude of Parents towards Financial Assistance

About the scheme of financial assistance the respondents in the two blocks gave a different picture. In Dumri block the financial assistance provided by the government was considered inadequate by 63.64 per cent respondents and adequate by 36.36 per cent. But in Jashpurnagar the situation was different. 82.05 per cent respondents reported the facilities to be adequate and only 17.95 percent reported it to be inadequate. The reason for having such a wide variety of responses in the two blocks is due to the fact that in Dumri the facility is not meant for all the tribal students as is the case in Jashpurnagar.

It was considered desirable to find out whether the stipends or scholarships given to the tribal students are properly utilized or not, what is the attitude of the parents towards these and what measures do they suggest for their proper utilization. The attitude of the parents towards the utilization of the assistance can be judged from their responses regarding the items on which the students spend the amount of their scholarships or stipends.

In Dumri block about 50 per cent respondents said that the students spent the amount of scholarships or stipends on stationery and clothing. Only one person said that, since the school teachers were not getting their salaries for the last eight months, a contribution of Rs 12 was raised for paying the salary of the school teachers. The rest were unable to say as to on what items their children spent the amount of scholarships.

In Jashpurnagar block 56.4 per cent of the respondents reported that the amount of scholarship and stipend was spent on clothing, reading materials and on payment of boarding fee, 15.4 per cent on paying the school fee, 12.8 per cent on food and 5.12 per cent said it was saved for the family and 2.6 per cent said that it was spent by the parents as well. 17.9 per cent respondents did not know when the stipend was disbursed and how the students spent it. These respondents belong to Galonda.

It may also be noted that 31.6 per cent of the villagers from Galonda reported that the students spent on clothing, reading materials and boarding fee, while in the other two villages 80 per cent reported so. If a critical appraisal of the responses is made it will be seen that in Jashpurnagar block the scholarship is mostly spent on boarding and school fees. The mission authorities deduct their dues and the rest is deposited in the bank by them. In all these matters the students have no discretion. In this connection it would be better to supplement the above details with some observation made in the field. One day a sum of Rs 27,925

was being distributed in Gholeng Boys' High School and there were three queues : one for the disbursement of scholarship, the other for the deduction of Rs. 5 towards opening of a saving bank account in the post office and the third for the deduction of other dues and for the deposit of the amount in the mission cooperative bank. There was some feeling of distrust among the villagers towards the mission in this regard but they failed to give vent to their feelings to any outsider as the Christians are afraid that if such things are disclosed they would be committing sin and would be considered disloyal to their religion and the church.

The responses of the villagers regarding the measures taken for the proper utilization of scholarships are not significant. Most probably they did not visualize the measures for the proper utilization of scholarships. However, some alternatives were spelled out and only one respondent each said that the scholarship might be distributed in time and as far as possible the present amount be increased. The above responses were recorded from Dumri block. But in Jashpurnagar block most of the respondents suggested various measures for proper utilization of financial assistance.

50 per cent respondents suggested that payment might be made to the parents, 15 per cent suggested timely disbursement, 5 per cent increase in the rate of scholarship and 2.5 per cent each suggested that it might be deposited in the savings bank and with the mission bank. But 7.5 per cent respondents said that the present arrangement was satisfactory. Thus for proper utilization most of them were of the opinion that payment be made to the parents. In this regard even the Christians of Galonda and Paiku responded in favour of payments being made to the parents and not to the students.

The parents reported that the school authorities deducted the fees due from the amount of scholarship when it was disbursed to the students. This is the general complaint of the villagers. Such practice is more common in Jashpurnagar block where all the tribal students get some sort of financial assistance. In Dumri, though it is not to that extent, yet contributions are raised from the Christian students and a regular school 'fee' is charged from them.

Regarding the supply of free textbooks, slates and pencils in Jashpurnagar block, it was reported by the villagers that the above articles were not supplied regularly and, at times, they were supplied six months late. So not much benefit could be derived from this scheme. Moreover, it does not cover all the tribal

students reading in the primary schools. At times one book is shared by two students. Some of the villagers reported that sometimes they purchased books from the market and some of them kept on waiting for the supply to be made through the school. There is no such scheme in Dumri block.

Attitude of Parents towards Education

The growing importance of education is also felt by the tribal parents and this encourages them to send their children to school. All the respondents from the six sample villages of the two sample blocks reported that they willingly sent their children to schools.

The responses highlight the many-fold benefits of education. Many respondents have indicated more than one benefit of education. This shows that the villagers are gradually realizing the importance of education.

In Jashpurnagar block there were varied responses regarding the benefits of education, while in Dumri its only two broad benefits were brought out. In both the blocks a majority of them reported that after education one could get a job. Tribal people are aware that the burden on land is too much and gradually the land is being fragmented. Hence they feel that the burden can be lessened only when their children can do some job other than cultivation after getting education. The earning from other jobs can also be utilized for purchasing land which will not only supplement the income from agricultural production but also help in increasing land holdings of the family. This, in turn, will lead to a comfortable living. Education also helps in checking exploitation by the money-lenders. Some of them are also of the opinion that by education one can make calculations and can find out the wrong calculations made by the money-lenders who cheat them. Besides, in Jashpurnagar block it was also emphasized that education was necessary for proper leadership and it was also important for the nation's progress. While at Dumri the villagers could see only the personal benefits of education, at Jashpurnagar, apart from their own interest, they also looked at the village's and nation's interest.

Relationship between Economic Condition of the Families and Responses to Education of their Children

The education of the tribal people has direct links with their economic condition. In most cases they have to struggle hard to earn their living. This is true not only among non-

agricultural tribal communities but even among the settled agriculturists among whom the entire family is busy in agricultural operations or cattle grazing, the latter being attended to by the children alone, who also are economic assets to the family.

This relationship between economic condition and education can be considered by studying how a sound economic condition of the family leads to better education of the children, and the poor economic condition hinders attainment of worthwhile educational standards. For this the percentage of families sending their children to school, reasons for not sending children to school, whether their income permits them to send their children to school, whether the families having low income send their children to school and other related facts were studied. The extent of expenditure incurred also shows the economic burden on the family for giving education to children.

From the case histories of families other than those to whom the questionnaires were administered the following response pattern was obtained

91 per cent respondents reported that they sent their children to schools. There is no sharp variation in the responses obtained in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks. But this did not show whether they sent to school all or only a few children of school-going age. In Dumri block 56.3 per cent respondents did not send to schools some of their children of school-going age. Among them 11.1 per cent could not meet the educational expenses, while the remaining respondents said that they could not part with the economic services of the children.

In Jashpurnagar block 38.5 per cent of the total respondents whose case histories were collected reported that they did not send some of their children of school-going age to any school. Out of such respondents 80 per cent were of the opinion that they would not part with the economic services of the children, while 15 per cent reported that they could not afford to meet the educational expenses of all the children. Though Jashpurnagar block shows less percentage of respondents who do not send some of their children to school, yet the economic burden is the main reason for not sending the children to school. This burden is on the families not able to meet the educational expenses or to part with the economic services of the children.

It was further noted that in Christian villages the percentage of respondents who did not send some of their children to school was less than in Saunsar villages. Most of the respondents from Saunsar villages reported that they could not part with the

economic services of the children, hence they did not send all of them to school. The Christians were more conscious of the utility of education and were, therefore, ready to forego their immediate gain in view of the long term benefit they would derive after the children are educated.

It may now be seen whether the income of the villagers permits them to send their children to school. In Dumri block, 91.7 per cent and in Jashpurnagar 93.5 per cent said that their income permitted them to send their children to school, while only 8.3 per cent in Dumri and 6.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar said that their income did not permit them to do so. Thus very few people said that their income did not permit them to send their children to schools. One of the respondents from Bhikhampur said, 'I am sacrificing for their education.'

To cross-check the above responses it was also enquired whether the other villagers, having the same or less income than the respondents, send their children to schools. In Dumri block 75 per cent of the respondent said that those who had the same monthly income also sent their children to schools, while in Jashpurnagar 78.1 per cent said so. In Dumri block 12.5 per cent said that those having the same monthly income as theirs did not send their children to school. It may be noted that the above respondents sent their children to school, and about others they said that they did not invest on education of their children because of the expenditure involved. The same is the case of those who have less income than that of the respondents and as such it may be stressed that though education involves economic burden on the family, most of the tribal people in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks spend on it and they treat it as an investment for future return.

Table IV.8. Expenditure per year on education (where education is free)

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Nil</i>	<i>Upto Rs 10</i>	<i>11-20</i>	<i>Above 20</i>	<i>Unable to say</i>
Dumri	7.7	30.7	30.8	30.8	—
Jashpurnagar	32.6	40.8	9.5	3.7	13.4

An analysis of expenditure in education (Table IV.8.) shows a striking difference in the responses of the people of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks. In Dumri the number of responses go on increasing with the increase in expenditure, while

in Jashpurnagar, with the increase in expenditure, the number of responses decreases. This shows that in Dumri the actual expenditure on education of the children at the primary level is more than what it is in Jashpurnagar. Such variation in the response pattern is due to the fact that there is no scheme for supply of textbooks, slates and pencils in Dumri as is in Jashpurnagar. In Dumri stipend is given to a few tribal students on merit-cum-means basis. There is no facility meant for all the tribal students as in Jashpurnagar. The respondents specifically mentioned the actual expenditure in terms of money for purchase of books and other reading and writing materials. They did not include loss of economic services rendered by their children.

Success and Failure of the Agencies engaged in Educational Development in the Contiguous Area

It has already been discussed earlier that in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks of the contiguous area the Christian missions, especially the Roman Catholic, and the Government are the two agencies engaged in the educational development of the area. It is true that Lutheran mission, Adimjati Seva Mandal and Kalyan Ashram are the other agencies which are also in the field of educational progress, but their activities are much less significant as compared to the activities of the Roman Catholic missions and the Government.

Opening and running of schools are the main activities of these two agencies. In Dumri block the government and the Christian mission schools are competing with each other but the situation in Jashpurnagar block is different. Here the Christian mission schools are very few (excluding the unrecognized schools) in comparison to the government schools. Hence it is obvious that the Christian missions are more successful in Dumri while the government is more successful in Jashpurnagar block.

Another important aspect of the educational development of this area is the girls' education in which Jashpurnagar block is far ahead of Dumri block. In Jashpurnagar there are more facilities for higher education for both boys and girls than in Dumri for which credit must go to both the government and the mission. The various facilities available in the two blocks have already been discussed earlier.

The relative success and failure of the programmes launched by these two agencies may also be assessed from the strength of students in various schools run by them. In Jashpurnagar the

strength of students is definitely more in mission schools than in government schools. Unfortunately in Dumri block we did not get such comparative data from the sample villages because none of them had schools run by them, but it was observed that mission schools did have more students than the government schools. It is because the missions open schools only in such villages where there is a sizable Christian population. The people also reported that they had instructions that the Christians must send their children to mission schools only even if they had to send them to another village and even if there was a government school in their own village.

After opening the schools no other facility except powder milk or grain is provided by the mission for students reading in primary schools.

Methods and Approaches of the Two Agencies

In the field of education the Christian missions are making efforts parallel to that of the government and there is no significant difference in the methods or approaches of the Christian missions of the two blocks but there are significant differences in the methods and approaches of the governments of the two States.

All the mission schools of a particular area function under the parish priest, though they are supervised and inspected by another person especially assigned to look after the mission's educational institutions, their progress and inspection. The salaries of teachers are paid by the parish priest. The latter functionary provides the requirements of the schools, such as, maps, slates, registers, dusters, chalks, black boards, instruments etc. In primary schools the missions do not provide any desk or bench. But middle and high schools are better equipped. Due to strict supervision by the mission authorities, the attendance of the teachers and students is more regular, and the registers are well maintained.

The regularity among the students in the mission schools is also due to supply of powder milk and grain. Besides, the mission authorities have appointed a 'School Panch' for each village where there are Christian families. He looks after the working of the school and puts pressure on the villagers, mostly on Christians, to send their children to the mission school. He is generally a member of the managing committee of the school. Moreover, mission authorities, as reported by the people, impress upon their teachers that they have to compete with the government

schools in order to attract more students, thereby promoting the cause of Christianity and maintaining their religious solidarity.

In Bihar the situation is a bit different, because the salaries of the teachers in the recognized or aided schools, though run by the Christian mission, are paid by the government through the B.D.O., and thus there is a control of the government on these schools which is not there in Madhya Pradesh. The school teachers both in government and mission schools are mostly Christians because educationally they are more advanced than the Saunsar. These school teachers have direct touch with their parish and are guided by it. One of these Christian teachers, generally the headmaster, is given a sum of Rs. 15 by the mission to act as a preacher. Such a teacher attaches more importance to this Rs. 15 than to his salary which is 6 to 10 times more than his remuneration as a preacher. While in Bihar, on the one hand, the missions work through their paid agents who are involved in education of the tribal people, in Madhya Pradesh, on the other, the educational activities of the missions are more open and the competition is face to face. Except for the supply of textbooks, slates and pencils, the payment of scholarship, hostel grants etc., the control of the government is very little.

Inspection of mission schools is made, no doubt, by the government officials of the education and tribal welfare departments in both the areas, but the record of the inspection note shows extraordinary and outstanding performance of the schools. The working of the mission schools are better than that of the government schools, because of a dual supervision by the government and the mission and they have to keep up the standard to get good results and a greater proportion of the scholarships. The government schools have mostly the Saunsar students who are not that much conscious about the utility of education, hence the government schools are not able to compete with the mission schools.

There are various factors on which the mission authorities pay more stress, such as school building, neat and clean atmosphere, and finance to meet the expenditure involved in education, which are not always possible in case of a government school.

As far as school building and neat and clean atmosphere around the school are concerned, the first thing is that at the time of construction of school, the mission gets free labour from the Christians of the particular parish. Every head (or any member) of all the households is to work for three days in the construction of the school building. If he cannot work for three days he has

to pay Rs. 15 in lieu of three days' free labour. Students of each class have to work for a certain period in bringing sand and water. In this activity they are supervised by the class teacher, for making bricks also the villagers work for the mission. At times masons are also engaged from the villages at cheaper rates and the only expenditure involved in the construction of school building is on the purchase of cement, asbestos sheets, timber, glass panes etc. For this also they get some aid from their diocese. Besides, some contribution towards construction of school building is also raised from the Christian villages falling under that parish.

It is the responsibility of the students in a mission school to maintain the school building and keep it clean. For the construction of the boundary wall of the school also the students have either to work or to pay a contribution. There are several such occasions on which the students or their parents are required to contribute their labour or pay contribution in cash. In Bihar it is slightly difficult to collect school fee, boarding fee and contribution from the villagers, but in Madhya Pradesh the school fee and boarding fee are easily collected at the time of disbursement of the scholarships. In most cases the people do not express their feeling of economic burden due to these contributions because of their loyalty towards their mission. However, when their confidence is gained they do give vent to such feelings. They further reported that though there was no pressure exerted on them for the contribution, yet if they do not pay the school fee, boarding fee or contribution, the arrear is collected from them at the time of marriage of their son or daughter. The mission authorities do not approach themselves for all these but the School Panch of the village or a member of the managing committee of the school from that village repeatedly approaches the defaulters and thus the authorities succeed in collecting the dues. When fee and boarding charges are not paid by the students, their examination result is withheld, or if some concession is made in the result, at the time of issue of the school leaving certificate from primary, middle and high schools all the dues are realised. Hence there is no other alternative for them but to pay off all the dues. The various mission schools have their own land also which are reclaimed for cultivation. In these agricultural fields again the students of the mission school have to work. Besides, the students are also engaged in the construction of wells. A very big well was under construction at Gholeng and a large area of land was being reclaimed there, and the students of the Gholeng Boys School were engaged as labourers.

In Bhikhampur 87·5 per cent and in Galonda 84·20 per cent respondents reported that voluntary contribution was demanded from them by the mission, while in the mixed village Paiku only 25 per cent respondents reported so. Nobody from Suwali reported the existence of such a practice. This is because in Suwali the school is run by the government where contribution and fee are not charged. The respondents from Biechia and Kating villages were Saunsars and hence they also reported the non-existence of such a practice.

About the willingness to pay such contribution to the Christian mission only Bhikhampur reported that 50 per cent of them paid the contribution unwillingly, 25 per cent willingly and the rest did not pay. On the other hand, 42·3 per cent and 35 per cent respondents of Galonda and Paiku said that the voluntary contribution was paid by them unwillingly and under pressure. The respondents who said that they paid it unwillingly also said that the pressure was exerted on them and as such they had to pay. In Bhikhampur one respondent each said that at the time of issue of transfer certificate of his child this had to be paid, while the other said that the result of his son would have been withheld if he had not paid, the third reported that sooner or later they had to give it, else the dues will go on multiplying. One informant went to the extent of saying that their children's name would be struck off the roll. Similar responses on pressure by the Christian mission towards the raising of contribution were also given by the respondents of Galonda and Paiku. It was reported by 36·8 per cent respondents from Galonda that the transfer certificate was withheld if the contribution was not paid, while 25 per cent respondent from Paiku and 10·5 per cent from Galonda reported that the dues were collected at the time of marriage. Besides, 21 per cent from Galonda and 6·25 per cent from Paiku also said that they could not avoid it as it was binding on them, while 5·3 per cent each from Galonda reported that the educational facilities would be denied or the panch appointed by the mission would force them to pay off the dues.

The government school buildings are very much neglected, and, as compared to the mission schools, they are in a very bad state. There is no garden or boundary, the atmosphere around the school cannot be said to be clean. There is no facility of drinking water. The scheme of construction of well for Suwali school is almost complete but there is none to take out the rain water collected in the well, nor is there any facility for drawing water from the well. This shows that there is a lack of leadership

in the village otherwise the drinking water facility could have easily been provided. The teachers of Suwali were repeatedly asked by the inspecting authorities to maintain a garden with bamboo fencing so that some fruit trees, flowers etc. could be planted. The teachers on the other hand reported that many a time fruit trees etc. were planted but the cattle destroyed them. On every Saturday the Christian mission schools are plastered with cowdung but such practice was not seen in the government schools. The class rooms are swept by date-palm leaves and that too not regularly. The school timing is not properly maintained as is found in the mission schools.

The school equipments at Suwali are very few, hence there is no proper facility for giving lessons. Black boards, charts and maps etc. are also not there. It is a proposed upper primary school having only two rooms, the other classes are held in the two attached verandahs. Since there are only two regular teachers, they have to take two classes each. Naturally the quality of students produced is inferior.

In Madhya Pradesh the situation is slightly different because the schools do have some equipments or class rooms. There are tables and chairs, black boards and a few maps. There is a sense of competition between the government and the mission. The schools run by the tribal welfare department also provide these facilities though the facilities of equipments are much less in comparison to that in the mission schools. The buildings of the government schools in Madhya Pradesh are better than those of Bihar and it can be said to be in bad state as compared to the mission schools in Madhya Pradesh.

The teachers in government schools in most cases are also sincere towards their duties and the maintenance of school surrounding and building are quite good in comparison to those in Bihar. Class rooms are swept every day and plastered with cowdung on every Saturday as is the practice in mission schools in Madhya Pradesh. The government schools at Galonda and Paiku have a small garden. The Galonda school is a newly constructed one and it is quite good. The Paiku school, established during the days of the Jashpurnagar estate, is still in good condition. The school timing is maintained, particularly due to the continuous supervision and inspection of various government officials of the education and the tribal welfare departments.

The students have the textbooks and other materials because they are supplied by the government and hence the lessons are also given to them regularly. Now-a-days the supply of powder

milk has also been introduced in the government schools, so the incentive for regular attendance is also there. This facility is not there in Bihar.

The scheme of financial assistance is applicable uniformly to all the tribal students in Madhya Pradesh, as such the educational development is more in Madhya Pradesh than in Bihar. The impact of Christian mission is well matched by the active educational programmes of the government in Madhya Pradesh. In Bihar the Christian missions have their footing stronger than in Madhya Pradesh. In Bihar the mission schools get easy recognition by the education department because they can get recommendation from highly placed people. When the District Education Officer is a Christian, the recognition of private non-Christian schools is difficult to get while of Christian mission schools it is easier. As such in many cases the Christian mission of the different areas try to take over the management of such schools run by the general public giving them a false hope that after being recognized it will be handed over to them. Such was the case in Bhikhampur. But in Madhya Pradesh it is slightly difficult to accord recognition to a Christian mission school when a government school is already there. Hence there are many unrecognized schools in Madhya Pradesh run by the mission and the students of these schools appear as private students from recognized mission schools.

Under the educational programmes of Adimjati Seva Mandal the High School at Tangardi is not functioning well due to poor economic resources, so much so that the teachers were not paid their salaries for the last nine months and naturally they have to fall back upon other sources than their main occupation. As such the feeling of frustration pervades which has its direct repercussion on the whole programme of education. Lack of finances is greatly responsible for the near failure of this institution.

The Kalyan Ashram of Jashpurnagar is also in the same condition. The trainees who go out of the institution at Jashpurnagar are entrusted with the job of spreading the activities of the Ashram by creating small training centres at different villages. But only manpower is not enough for the growth of the centres. It needs some fund which is lacking. Naturally this programme has not been a success in the absence of grants from any official or charitable agency.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMPLOYMENT

THE PROBLEM of unemployment among the tribal communities in the contiguous area is also a vital one. In both the blocks of the contiguous area the people are engaged as cultivators and/or agricultural labourers. It was seen earlier that more than 85 per cent people in Dumri block and about 91 per cent in Jashpurnagar block were employed in cultivation, while only 12 per cent in Dumri and 6.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar were engaged in services. Thus the tribal people living in the contiguous area are still employed in their traditional occupation, that is, cultivation though some of them are also engaged in forestry and agricultural labour. An attempt was made to find out whether the people feel any need for and seek employment outside their present occupation. The details based on the responses of those whose case histories were collected show that 18.7 per cent and 5.8 per cent respondents in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks respectively indicated that some members in their families sought employment. Employment and education may have a close link but here it is found that the percentage of literacy was more in Jashpurnagar block and less in Dumri block while the percentage of informants seeking employment was more in Dumri block and less in Jashpurnagar. It may be that the job opportunities were more in Jashpurnagar block than in Dumri.

In the Constitution of India specific provisions have been made for the protection of the rights of the tribal people. They are vaguely aware of such a protection. Though they are not aware of the actual percentage of posts reserved for them, yet they indicated the number of persons in their villages who had benefited from such a reservation of posts.

In Dumri block 87.6 per cent reported that less than five persons and 6.2 per cent reported that 6 to 10 persons respectively were benefited from the reservation of posts. 6.2 per cent respondents thought that no one got any benefit. In Jashpurnagar

block the response was varied. 68·8 per cent respondents said that more than 10 persons, and 16·6 per cent reported that less than five persons were benefited from reservation of posts.

As regards the benefits of reservation derived by the sample families it was seen that in Jashpurnagar block 34·6 per cent respondents were benefited as against 25 per cent in Dumri block. In Dumri block only Bhikhampur recorded 50 per cent respondents who had benefited. In Jashpurnagar only Kating was a village where nobody was benefited, in Galonda and Paiku, 30·8 per cent and 50 per cent respondents did avail of the benefits. Bhikhampur and Galonda are Christian villages, whereas Suwali and Kating are Saunsar villages, hence the disparity in responses about the benefits of the reservation is found there. In Suwali, Bichhra and Bhikhampur, persons seeking employment did not fulfil the qualifications, hence they were not selected. In other words those who fulfilled the qualifications were appointed. The educational standards and types of experiences possessed by the members of the family who sought employment were also found out.

It was found that among those who sought employment 66·7 per cent were matriculate and 33·3 per cent middle pass in Dumri block, while in Jashpurnagar block 33·3 per cent each were primary, middle and matric pass.

The respondents from Dumri reported that there was no scope for their employment in their villages while only 33·3 per cent of the respondents from Jashpurnagar block reported that there was some scope of employment in the cooperative stores. Though there is not much scope for their employment in the village, the informants did mention some of the avenues of employment in the area.

Regarding the avenues of employment in Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks, 50 per cent and 67·5 per cent informants respectively reported that they could get employments in school, 44·4 per cent and 57·5 per cent respectively reported that block office could also provide employment, whereas only 5 per cent from Jashpurnagar and 38·9 per cent from Dumri said that they could find some employment in the Panchayat also.

The cooperative societies run stores at different places and a few people have got employment in them as manager or salesman. Hence the cooperative society as an avenue of employment has been recognized in Jashpurnagar block. The other interesting feature is that the avenues of employment enumerated are based on the experiences of the informants of different villages. In Dumri

block 16·7 per cent informants told that there was no avenue of employment in the area. Jashpurnagar records only 2·5 per cent respondents each who reported that there was no avenue of employment for the tribal people. 50 per cent of the respondents in Dumri were aware of the avenues of employment in the areas as against 95 per cent in Jashpurnagar block. The reason may be that the tribal people get jobs easily in Jashpurnagar block and this is the reason why a man of Suwalī village of Dumri block who was unemployed had registered himself with the employment exchange at Raigarh.

In Dumri block there is little awareness about the avenues of employment in the area because of less educational facilities than in Jashpurnagar block which also happens to be a sub-divisional headquarters

Coming specifically to the question of whether any preference is given to the tribal people for employment as school teachers, village level workers, gram sevaks or panchayat sevaks, the percentages of responses of those whose case histories were collected are given in the following table.

Table V.1. Preference, if any, given to the tribal people for employment in various posts (per cent in yes response)

<i>Block</i>	<i>School teacher</i>	<i>Village level worker</i>	<i>Peon</i>	<i>Patwari or Patel</i>	<i>Panchayat Sevak or Gram Sevak</i>	<i>All types of jobs</i>
Dumri	58·3	16·7	8·3	—	16·7	—
Jashpurnagar	94·2	86·5	67·3	67·3	—	15·4

(Some respondents gave more than one response)

The above table indicates that in Jashpurnagar block 94·2 per cent respondents as against 58·3 per cent in Dumri block reported that tribal people were preferred for appointment as school teachers. In case of other jobs too, in Jashpurnagar block a majority of them reported that preference was given to them for the post of V.L.W. or Patwari or Patel. Besides, 15·4 per cent respondents in Jashpurnagar block went to the extent of saying that for all types of jobs preference was given to the tribal people, whereas none considered so in Dumri block.

The agencies that are mainly responsible for affording employment opportunities in Dumri block are government and Christian missions, while a few teachers are also appointed by the Adimjati Seva Mandal in its high school at Tangardih. The

posts of Peon, V.L.W., Panchayat Sevak or Gram Sevak are exclusively under the government. Nowadays the Christian missions also appoint V.L.W. known as Kamdar in their agricultural development programmes. Besides, the Christian missions also appoint personnel and labourers in their irrigation projects. Appointment of school teachers is the concern of both the governments and the Christian missions.

In Jashpurnagar block the situation is slightly different where most of the employment is under the government. There is no agricultural development programme of the Christian missions, but employment of school teachers is also the concern of Christian missions apart from the government

In both the blocks, the Christian missions, it is reported, also run their cooperative banks where they employ clerks.

For better employment facilities, the diocese at Ranchi has specific programme of providing informations to Christian candidates about vacancies in different government and private agencies. They have their own employment exchange located at Loyala hostel in Ranchi wherefrom circulars are sent to each parish regularly regarding the vacancies and training facilities. They also send such circulars to members who monthly subscribe a fixed sum. It could not be ascertained whether similar facilities are available in Jashpurnagar block also.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THE POLITICAL SET-UP in both Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks of the contiguous area is almost the same. Both traditional and statutory gram panchayats function there effectively. Apart from these two types of panchayats, another panchayat, known as 'mission panchayat' also functions among the Christians of both the areas. In Dumri cent per cent respondents said that both traditional and statutory gram panchayats functioned in the area, while 44.4 per cent of total number of respondents, all from Bhikhampur, said the mission panchayat also functioned effectively in the area as well as in the village. In Jashpurnagar block the situation was different. 2.5 per cent, 87.5 per cent and 82.5 per cent respondents said that traditional village panchayat, statutory gram panchayat, and mission panchayat respectively was also in existence. The existence of statutory and mission panchayats were not reported from Kating. All the respondents were of the opinion that none of the panchayats was in existence there.

Traditional Panchayat

The people have little or no idea about the traditional panchayat or the traditional headman. Out of the three sample villages in Dumri block, none reported the existence of such a functionary as the Munda, Pahan and Mahto normally found in Munda and Oraon villages. The disputes are settled by the village elders who take decisions jointly.

In Jashpurnagar block too, in all the three sample villages the respondents reported that there was no traditional panchayat in the village. There is no headman in any of the villages but the village elders elect a *panch* to settle a particular dispute on a particular day. But it is interesting to find the existence of *patel*, *panbhara* and *mahto* in the villages. Whenever any official or a social worker visits the village, it is the duty of the *panbhara* to fetch water, and of the *mahto* to look after the visitor. The services of these village officials are free and they have their own

rent-free land. These posts are hereditary. *Patel* also helps the visitor by making suitable arrangement for him. But he has no judicial powers.

Statutory Gram Panchayat

Under the Panchayati Raj Act of Bihar, Dumri block has been converted into a Panchayat Samiti of which the *Pramukh* is the head. In Dumri block, the gram panchayats at Birgaon, Lawabar and Bhikhampur respectively cover the three sample villages, Suwali, Bichhra and Bhikhampur. The executive head of a statutory gram panchayat is the *Mukhiya* and the judicial head *Sarpanch*. In every gram panchayat there are two committees : executive and the judiciary. Each committee has eight members, four of whom are elected and four nominated. The executive committee elects from among these eight members one *Up-mukhiya* and the *Panchs* elect one *Up-sarpanch*. There is a *Gram Sevak* or *Panchayat Sevak* who is a government employee. He looks after the proper working of the gram panchayat and maintains its accounts and records of cases filed in the gram panchayat and the decisions taken. He works as a secretary to the gram panchayat.

In Jashpurnagar block Panchayati Raj Act has not been implemented but some tribal gram panchayats have been constituted in Madhya Pradesh. Such tribal gram panchayats which serve the sample villages of Galonda, Paiku and Kating are located at Galonda, Paiku and Lodam respectively. In every tribal gram panchayat there is one *Sarpanch*, who is a nominated member of the government and the secretary is an employee of the government who keeps the records of the gram panchayat. Besides, there are eight more *Panchs* who assist the *Sarpanch* in settling the village disputes.

Mission Panchayat

A mention needs to be made of the mission panchayat which functions in almost every village having a majority of Christian population. The head of the mission panchayat is known as '*Siri Panch*', a corrupt form of *Sarpanch*. There are also a few other *Panchs* in it. In Dumri block out of the three sample villages only Bhikhampur has a mission panchayat.

In Jashpurnagar block the mission panchayat is in existence in Galonda and Paiku but not in Kating. At Galonda there are separate panchayats for the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran missions. Since the members of this panchayat hold office for a term of three years, and since people at large are not involved in it, they at times do not know who the sitting members are.

Functions of the Mission Panchayat

The main function of the mission panchayat is to settle disputes among the Christians only. It also looks after the activities of the Christians, whether they are following the routine of attending church, subscribing the various contributions as and when sought by the mission, whether loans taken from mission co-operative bank are repaid by the borrower and so on. In this way a mission panchayat is vigilant over the activities of each and every Christian family. This creates a greater sense of solidarity among them. The mission authorities have a monthly meeting at the parish headquarters to discuss the various problems of the people and there they suggest the future plans and programmes of development. The mission panchayat has to implement these plans and programmes in their respective villages. In the monthly meeting only the '*Siri Panch*' of different mission gram panchayats attend. The programmes of educational and economic (including agricultural) development, irrigational facilities and supply of fertilizers and seeds etc. are intensified through this panchayat. Such activities are visible more in Dumri block than in Jashpurnagar block.

A mission panchayat also looks after the activities of the youths. In case of any clandestine love affair between a Christian girl and a non-Christian boy, the mission panchayat takes a serious note of it and the girl is forbidden to get involved in such love affairs with non-Christians. If, however, they want to marry, the girl is made to persuade the non-Christian or Saunsar boy to first accept Christianity. Also if the Saunsars are in minority in the village the Christians are reported to create troubles for the boy's family by way of imposing fine, by taking away their cattle and so on. Ultimately because of such harassments the boy has no other option than to accept Christianity. If he does so, all his family members also change their religion. In most cases the parents are illiterate and they think that if their educated son wants to change the religion he must be knowing its advantages. Such cases were reported to have occurred more frequently in Dumri block than in Jashpurnagar block.

The functions of the statutory gram panchayat is to settle disputes between different members of a village or different villages which fall under its jurisdiction. Besides, the various developmental programmes such as construction of roads, culverts, drinking well, dispensary, supply of fertilizers and seeds etc. are also looked after by this gram panchayat. In Dumri block supply of ration was also managed by it during the period of drought. But supply

of seeds and fertilizer which is channelized through the statutory gram panchayat at Jashpurnagar block was the exclusive concern of the V.L.W.s. There the supply of ration was made through the cooperative stores. This panchayat also tries petty cases. However, one is free to make appeal to the civil courts and also it is not obligatory to take all the cases of the village to this panchayat.

Political Awareness of the Tribal People

Political awareness of the tribal people in the contiguous area was also studied with regard to their knowledge about the numbers of the panchayat, programmes and development activities of the panchayat, election, political parties and leadership.

Among those who do not hold any post in the panchayat 7.1 per cent and 2.8 per cent respondents from Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks respectively reported that they wanted to become Panchs. 92.9 per cent respondents from Dumri and 97.2 per cent from Jashpurnagar did not like to hold any post in the panchayat. This shows how indifferent people are towards any political participation in the welfare and development of their villages.

Many of the respondents were reluctant to become members of the statutory gram panchayat because they said they were illiterate, engaged for most of the time in earning their livelihood, and unable to handle the political affairs of the panchayat. Almost all the respondents of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks said that one attains social prestige after becoming a member of the statutory gram panchayat. The people according to them have to obey the orders and carry out the decisions of the gram panchayat.

About the different types of activities of the statutory gram panchayat, 55.6 per cent of the respondents from Dumri block reported that its main function was to settle disputes, while 16.7 per cent said that developmental activities like construction of wells and ponds have also been taken up by the gram panchayat. Only 5.6 per cent respondents each said that the panchayat had also constructed bundhs, and distributed fertilizers and seeds. 11.1 per cent respondents said that the statutory gram panchayat was not doing anything in their villages.

In Jashpurnagar block too, 55 per cent respondents said that the statutory gram panchayat settled village disputes while 67.5 per cent reported that village roads were constructed by it. This is perhaps the reason why communicational facilities are better in Jashpurnagar block than in Dumri block where no one

reported that the gram panchayats had constructed any road in the villages. Besides, 40 per cent respondents said that ponds had been constructed, 32.5 per cent were of the view that they had also constructed Panchayat Bhawan whereas no one reported construction of Panchayat Bhawan in Dumri block. In Jashpurnagar block 15 per cent of the respondents said that wells had been constructed and 12.5 per cent reported that cooperative societies were opened. Besides all these major development programmes, 2.5 per cent respondents each reported that gram panchayat had also constructed bundhs, supplied fertilizers and helped them in obtaining loans.

Though the Panchayati Raj is not functioning in Jashpurnagar block as in Dumri block, yet it is found that the development programmes are more need-oriented in Jashpurnagar than in Dumri. Moreover, the villagers are more aware of the different types of programmes taken by the gram panchayat in Jashpurnagar than in Dumri.

The people were not in a position to imagine themselves in other people's situation. In response to a question as to what development activities would they undertake if they became members of the panchayat, 50 per cent respondents in Dumri said that they were unable to take up the responsibility because they could not handle such affairs, while 11.1 per cent respondents said that they would not be able to do anything because they were illiterate.

Similarly 20 per cent respondents from Jashpurnagar reported that they would not be able to work as a member of the panchayat, 10 per cent said that they would not accept the post, 12 per cent said that they had no idea about the development programmes and 5 per cent could not foresee the possibilities of development of the area. In this way 47.5 per cent respondents from Jashpurnagar as against 61.1 per cent respondents from Dumri failed to imagine themselves discharging the duties of a member of the panchayat.

In Dumri block, out of those who could imagine themselves in such situation, nobody was prepared to take the responsibility of settling disputes, while in Jashpurnagar 22 per cent said that they would settle village disputes. 16.7 per cent respondents in Dumri said that they would act according to the wishes of the people. In Jashpurnagar 7.5 per cent gave the same reply. This is the highest percentage of respondents who said something about the real development programmes by way of construction and repair of roads in Jashpurnagar block, while in

Dumri block only 5.6 per cent respondents said that they would take up road construction programmes. Among the respondents in Jashpurnagar 5 per cent each said that they would check the illegal sale of liquor through the *parchunia* and would act according to the advice of the government. No such response was received from Dumri. There 5.6 per cent respondents could not say as to how they would act in the given circumstances. In Jashpurnagar 2.5 per cent respondents said that they would keep the people active, redress their grievances and would help people during drought.

Further, about 80 per cent respondents in Dumri and 81.1 per cent in Jashpurnagar who proposed to take up certain development programmes after becoming a member of the panchayat said that such programmes were being taken up by the present members of the panchayat also. In this regard too, it is evident that the two blocks are at the same level of awareness. Regarding the question as to whether the villagers can impress upon the members of the panchayat about their own feelings, 100 per cent in Dumri block and only 7.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar block replied in the affirmative.

Based on the above awareness about the functions of the gram panchayat, 77.8 per cent respondents in Dumri and 77.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar reported that the gram panchayat was functioning well in both the areas.

Election

The tribal people of both the blocks knew their right to cast votes. In Dumri 92.5 per cent respondents as against 92.5 per cent in Jashpurnagar said that they had a right to cast their votes. They went to the extent of saying that if, instead of dropping the ballot paper into the box, they bring it with them in their pockets, it will be a 'sin'. By doing so, they said, the main purpose of election would be defeated.

Among the respondents 94.4 per cent from Dumri and 90 per cent from Jashpurnagar said that they did cast their votes in the last general election. Those who did not cast said that their names were not on the electoral roll.

None from Jashpurnagar reported to have fought election while 11.1 per cent respondents from Dumri said that they did so: one of them for Sarpanch and the rest for Panchs.

Among those who cast their votes, 58.8 per cent in Dumri favoured the Congress as against 60 per cent in Jashpurnagar block. In Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks 17.7 per cent and 5 per cent respectively favoured the 'party with tiger symbol'. The

name of the party was not known to them. In Dumri block also most of the respondents referred to the Congress as a party with *jora bail* or, a pair of bullocks, but in Jashpurnagar block the respondents knew this party by name. There were various other parties which were not known by the name such as the 'party with leaf symbol' whom 59 per cent respondents favoured, and 'cycle symbol' whom 17.7 per cent respondents favoured in Dumri. In Jashpurnagar 10 per cent respondents favoured Jansangh, while 7.5 per cent the 'sun symbol' and 2.5 per cent the 'Adivasi party'.

55.6 per cent of the respondents in Dumri reported Congress and 38.9 per cent Jharkhand as the political parties working in their area. Swantantra, Jansangh and 'Raja Party' were referred to by only 5.6 per cent respondents each. Some of the respondents also grouped the political parties on the basis of religion and 22.2 per cent respondents said that the 'Hindu Party' and 16.7 per cent said that the 'Christian Party' were also working in the area.

In Jashpurnagar the situation was slightly different because there instead of the Jharkhand party, as in Dumri block, it is the Jansangh which was reported by the people to be a major party after the Congress. The activities of the Congress party were reported by 57.5 per cent respondents of Jashpurnagar block, while 32.5 per cent reported about the activities of the Jansangh. Besides, Jharkhand's existence has also been admitted by 12.5 per cent while 2.5 per cent each reported the existence of 'Adivasi party', 'Catholic mission party' and 'Raja party'.

The party association of the respondents shows the following: 33.3 per cent respondents of Dumri block said that they belonged to the Jharkhand party. All the respondents who said that they belonged to it were Christians while 33.9 per cent reported their association with the Congress party. Except one, all the respondents were Saunsars. 5.6 per cent respondents each told about their association with the 'Christian party' and 11.1 per cent with the 'Hindu party'.

In Jashpurnagar 40 per cent respondents said that they belonged to the Congress party, 20 per cent to 'Adivasi party' and 10 per cent to Jansangh, 7.5 per cent to the party having sun as its symbol, 5 per cent to 'Hindu party' and 2.5 per cent each to 'Oraon party', 'Jharkhand party', 'Raja party' and to 'all parties'.

In Suwali and Bichhra of Dumri block all the respondents were aware of their leaders at the various levels, that is, village, panchayat, block, sub-division, district, state and national levels.

Bhikhampur did not have a leader who could command the confidence of all the villagers.

Similarly in Jashpurnagar block too, Galonda village did not have a leader who had the confidence of all. In Paiku too there were a number of village leaders. The case of Kating was also similar.

At panchayat level, it was noted that most of the respondents in Suwali and Bichchra identified the present Mukhiya of the panchayat as a leader. In Bhikhampur the present Mukhiya and '*Siri-panch*' of the mission panchayat were reported as leaders at the panchayat level. Incidentally both are members of the statutory gram panchayat.

Similarly, in Jashpurnagar block, at panchayat level the Sarpanch is reported as leader of the traditional gram panchayat of Galonda. The case was the same in Paiku village where the Sarpanch of the traditional gram panchayat was referred to as the leader of the panchayat. In Kating village too all the respondents referred a Sarpanch of Lodam tribal gram panchayat as a leader of the panchayat.

In general, the respondents from both the blocks recognized the Mukhiya or Sarpanch as a leader of the panchayat. At the block level, the B.D.O. and the Pramukh were referred to as the leaders in Dumri block, while in Jashpurnagar block the concept of a block leader was not clear, because B.D.O., S.D.O. and Tehsildar were all referred to as leaders. The main reason is that the organizational set-up was not clear to the general public after the abolition of the block. Hence they did not know who was at the helm of affairs at the block level. About the leader at the district level nobody could give any response in Dumri block, while in Jashpurnagar, the Collector was referred to as a leader in the district. In Dumri block no body could identify the State leaders, while in Jashpurnagar respondents referred to the local M.L.A.s as the leaders at the State level.

This shows that as far as awareness of the leadership at different levels is concerned, the respondents in Jashpurnagar block were more aware than the respondents in Dumri block.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPLOITATION

THE AGENCIES at the hands of which the tribal people are being exploited are, according to them, government officials at different levels, Christian missions, traders, merchants, money-lenders and liquor vendors. The nature of exploitation by the different agencies are different. The following table gives the details about the agencies exploiting the tribal people.

Table VII.1. Agencies exploiting the tribal people

<i>Blocks</i>	<i>Govt. officials</i>	<i>Christian missions</i>	<i>Forest contractors</i>	<i>Traders/ merchants</i>	<i>Liquor vendors</i>	<i>Forest guards</i>
						Percentage
Dumri	60.0	10.0	40.0	—	10.0	30.0
Jashpurnagar	53.1	60.6	6.1	3.1	6.1	—

(Some respondents gave more than one response)

In both the blocks people are of the opinion that they are being exploited. In Dumri 60 per cent and in Jashpurnagar 53.1 per cent respondents reported that they were exploited mostly at the hands of the government officials, and 10 per cent in Dumri and 60.6 per cent in Jashpurnagar at the hands of the Christian missions. The reason for the higher percentage of respondents exploited by the missions in Jashpurnagar may be because there the people are not the blind followers of the church unlike those in Dumri block. They objectively assess the relative merits and demerits of the government and mission programmes.

In Dumri block, 40 per cent respondents told that they were exploited by the forest contractors and 30 per cent by forest guards whereas only 6.1 per cent in Jashpurnagar block said that they were exploited by forest contractors.

It is interesting to note that none from Dumri block and only 3.1 per cent from Jashpurnagar reported that the petty traders exploited them.

10 per cent respondents from Dumri and 61 per cent from Jashpurnagar reported that liquor vendors also exploited them. The respondents did not feel happy in giving their frank opinions because they were afraid that in doing so the *bhattidar* (the owner of the brewery) and the personnel of the excise department might harass them. But in their case histories almost all of them revealed that the greatest impediment in the development programmes was the *parchuni*. Family disputes, poverty, indebtedness and ill health were the results of exploitation at the hands of the liquor vendors.

If villagewise responses of the informants are studied separately it will be seen that out of the three sample villages in Dumri block, Bhikhampur recorded 83.3 per cent respondents who said that government officials exploited them, while none from Suwali village reported so. The reasons are obvious. The former is a Christian village and the latter a Saunsar village. Suwali is nearer to Dumri block than Bhikhampur and the villagers did not experience any exploitation at the hands of the government officials. Some of the Christians reported that they were given to understand that the officials were corrupt, insincere, and outsiders. Having compared the responses of a Christian respondent with that of a parish priest it is noted that 80 per cent of the responses were common. In order that the Christians are not weaned away from the missions, undesirable feelings have been created in them. Even some of the Christians holding posts in government held opinions similar to those held by the mission authorities and other Christian respondents of the sample village.

This, however, does not mean that the government officials are not the exploiters. The role of petty field officials as initiators of schemes and who act as the forwarding authority of the applications for subsidy or loan from the villages lying in their jurisdiction is important to note. The chances of malpractices are more at this level. The respondents made references to many cases as a result of which, they said, they had lost confidence in them.

An interesting practice was reported in Dumri block. Some of the officials there take a particular plot of land with irrigation facilities from a tribal cultivator for a period of three months or so for *rabi* cultivation. A tribal cultivator generally grows a single crop in his cultivation field and leaves the land fallow for the rest of the period. The officials approach them to take up *rabi* cultivation. The people do not generally agree saying that the stray cattle would destroy the crop. Then the officials ask them to give

the land to them for *rabi* cultivation to which some of the people agree after great persuasion. At times they are given Rs. 10 or so as inducement. Such agreements are generally verbal but at times written agreement is also made. The *rabi* crop is grown there and the entire yield goes to that official and the cultivator is not given any share. In this way the block's target in *rabi* production is achieved, and at the cost of fertilizer and improved seeds supplied by the block, the officials earn a substantial amount of money. Then again the demonstration plots of the tribal people are cultivated by some of the officials. In such plots free supply of fertilizer and seeds is made by the block to demonstrate the effectiveness of fertilizer or seeds. These demonstration plots are cultivated on share basis and the cultivator is given only half of the produce, the other half goes to the official incharge of the demonstration, though under the rules the entire produce would go to the owner of the plot. Some of the government officials have, it was reported, purchased plots of cultivable land out of this secondary sources of their income and have constructed their houses as well. They have also started lending money, and some of them have also even decided to settle there. They are not afraid of such dealings because they know that at the most they will lose their job which would not mean much to them as they have already made their base strong and are prepared for such an eventuality.

Naturally the tribal people have genuine grievances against such types of exploitation by the government officials. These practices are limited to a few officials but the other agencies take advantage of such a situation and try to generate anti-government feelings. Every Christian respondent emphasized that the block officials should be local tribesmen. As a result of all these, dissatisfaction and resentment have been created among the people.

The situation in Jashpurnagar block is very much different. There is not much variation in the responses of the informants from the sample villages about the exploitation by the government officials. Such exploitation was reported by 53.1 per cent respondents. The nature of exploitation of the tribal people at the hands of the government officials is not of a serious nature, but petty irritants are obviously there. These are mostly connected with revenue officials and not so much with the development workers.

The revenue officials are said to be their oppressors. The Patwaris go for *girdauli*¹ once a year which becomes the basis for

¹To reconnoitre the village land, to demarcate the boundaries of plots.

the preparation of ownership records. In some cases the Patwaris allegedly enter the name of some one else who is not the actual owner of the land but has manoeuvred to get his name entered so that if that entry continues for a number of years it may form a basis for initiating a civil suit against the actual owner. If this wrong entry is detected by the actual owner well in time the entries are likely to be got corrected for a consideration.

No government waste land can be reclaimed without obtaining a *patta* (temporary settlement of land) from the government. Therefore during *girdauli* fine is imposed on anyone who has reclaimed the waste land and made it cultivable. Instead of granting *patta*, or initiating cases for granting it, they are fined. It was reported by the people that such fines were neither deposited in the treasury, nor a receipt was given to them. The person who pays the fine is under the impression that the particular plot of land would be settled in his name after the payment of the fine. But, later on, he is again fined because of his inability to produce a receipt of having paid the fine. This has led to greater suspicion among the people towards government officials. They cannot afford to pay the heavy fines and many of them have been served with notices. The villagers are ready to pay the land revenue from the date of reclamation and want that mutation be made in their names, but these have not been considered. The tribal people of Jashpurnagar area cited the rules of the neighbouring state (Bihar) where reclaimed lands are settled in the name of the person who make them culturable and mutation is finally done by the government. A number of meetings were arranged by the people in Jashpurnagar area in connection with the said harassment by government officials but nothing could be done about it. The frustration is not only among the Christians but also among the Saunsars, who feel it all the more, as they have no leaders to guide them. The grievances of the Christians are got redressed through the efforts of the Christian missions. In the sample villages of Paiku and Kating also there are many sufferers. In Galonda, however, there was no such case. It may be pointed out here that imposition of fine for any violation of law is not considered exploitation by them but imposition of fine without giving any receipt is definitely considered as exploitation.

In Jashpurnagar block the nature of exploitation of the tribal people at the hands of the government officials has also taken a new dimension though the tribal people are not directly at any disadvantage. The schemes of irrigation, well, pond etc. are awarded to a tribal cultivator with 75 per cent subsidy from the

government. But the subsidy is given through a guarantor, who takes the responsibility of completing the scheme. The interest of the guarantor lies not only in completing the scheme within 75 per cent of the subsidy but also saving some money out of it. The tribal cultivator who takes up the scheme has to pay 25 per cent of the cost but he too tries to avoid its payment and wants that the work may be completed within the amount given by the government. There are only a handful of persons who stand guarantee in many cases. They have their own men in the block who deal with the matter, hence the estimates etc. are also prepared at higher rates and all of them reportedly share the profit. In some cases where the scheme was taken and executed directly by the tribal people without a guarantor the non-cooperation and unsympathetic attitude of the block officials made it difficult to complete the scheme. The cultivator concerned is then forced by the officials to give a declaration that he is unable to complete the work. For the completion of the work a fresh estimate is made and sanction accorded to a guarantor. It was reported that in most cases a dummy guarantor was put up. Thus the public money is being misutilized and the rightful beneficiaries are debarred from taking benefit of the scheme.

The exploitation at the hands of excise officials has also been reported by the informants from Paiku and Kating villages. The worst sufferers are those of Paiku. The villagers once decided that they would not allow the sale of liquor in the village and there was some dispute between the liquor vendor and the villagers. The *bhattidar* reported the matter to the excise authorities who raided the village on a festive day and a few persons were arrested because they had prepared rice beer to celebrate the occasion, and so were fined Rs. 15 each. Such cases were reported from Kating village also. But Paiku is frequently visited by them. The villagers reported that they had obtained permission from the police station of Jashpurnagar to prepare rice beer for that occasion. The necessary paper of permission, however, was also taken away by the excise authorities.

It is seen from Table VII.1. that 60.8 per cent respondents of Jashpurnagar block reported that they were also exploited at the hands of the Christian missions. The responses of the sample villages separately indicate that 82.3 per cent respondents from Galonda and 50 per cent from Paiku were of the opinion that Christian missions were also their exploiters. None from Kating village held this view because all of them happened to be Saunsar and have no dealings with the Christian mission.

In contrast to Dumri, Jashpurnagar shows that the informants have realized that the activities of the Christian missions are not always beneficial. The main reason may be the comparative assessment by the tribal people of Jashpurnagar area with regard to the work performed by the Christian mission and the government. The government provides facilities of scholarships to all the boys and girls reading in schools and colleges and do not charge any fee or contribution. When the tribal people have to pay fee in mission schools they feel that it is also a form of exploitation. This contribution in terms of school fee is to be paid compulsorily by all parents. Some pressure is also brought to bear on them to pay the dues either from the scholarship amount, or at the time of issuing school leaving certificate failing which the mission authorities refuse to perform rites of marriage and impose fine or ex-communicate them. They also direct other Christian members not to assist them in their agricultural and other economic pursuits and construction of houses etc. Besides, for the construction of school building and work in the orchard of the mission they have to provide free labour.

The Christian respondents also reported that a pre-marriage training was given to the prospective couple in the church for 15 days before the actual marriage ceremony is performed. This is essential and every couple has to attend it before marriage. They said that the couple were given training as to how to be a good and devoted husband and wife, how to lead a happy conjugal life, what are the responsibilities of husband, wife, and parents. But many respondents were not very sure about the real purpose of such training and looked at the whole thing with disfavour and talked about it with a bad taste in their mouths.

Exploitation by religious conversion was also reported by the people. None of the Christian respondents reported that conversion was made under pressure. But the "Saunsar respondents complained of indirect pressures. In Jashpurnagar area the Christian missions have now tried to bring the scheduled castes and backward classes into their own folds. Those who are in minority and are living in Christian villages are reported to be oppressed by the majority community, that is, the Christians and their land is encroached upon, their cattle are beaten and so on. They are harassed in such a way so that they either come to the fold of Christian mission wherefrom they would get various economic, educational and medical facilities or they leave the village. Similar procedure is adopted for the conversion of the Nagesia, a scheduled tribe. In Jashpurnagar every village has a Baiga (priest),

who observes various rituals for the welfare of the village and its inhabitants. He owns a Baiga land which is rent-free. In a mixed village the Christians, who take a united stand, try to encroach upon the Baiga land or forcibly cultivate it. This creates trouble in the village and also between the Christians and non-Christians. Several such cases were reported from Jashpurnagar area. While all these troubles continue, the *prachar* would meet the Baiga and tell him indirectly that all his troubles will be over if he accepted Christianity. Such incidents were reported from Paiku.

Some of the respondents reported that the Christian mission also tries to create conflict between Saunsar and Christian Oraons. Once in a village the Christians installed, a day before the *karma* festival, a cross at a place which was meant for *karma* puja, a place for community worship. The matter was reported to the police and there was a great tension in the village but with the intervention of the police and strong opposition from the Saunsar Oraon the pillars representing the cross were removed to a different place. But since then the Christian and Saunsar Oraons are not at very friendly terms. The mission tries to create rift even among Christian and Saunsar brothers. A Christian brother is at times forced to bring the Saunsar brother into Christian fold showing that if the latter accepted Christianity he will also get benefit in terms of grain, medicines and loans etc. If the Saunsar brother does not accept the offer, his Christian brother is asked not to cooperate with him in his economic and socio-religious functions.

Besides, even the Christian informants reported that in the name of religion, the missions collected *sirni*, a handful of rice every day, to be taken to the church on Sundays. On the visit of a parish priest or his representative, the villagers offer gifts as they used to do when in the past, the Zamindar or some of his associates visited the villages. In Paiku due to these exploitation and high-handedness in the form of various types of restrictions, acceptance of money and contributions a number of cases of reconversion from Christianity to the tribal fold have been reported. Christian girls are given educational facilities, and the efforts of Christian mission in educating the girls are more in Jashpurnagar block than in Dumri block. But in other parts of Bihar education among the Christian girls is more popular. A Christian girl is encouraged to get herself engaged to a Saunsar boy so that the boy along with his family could become Christian before marriage. This method is popular in both Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks. In Dumri due to the stronghold of the Christian mission,

the Saunsar fall easy prey to their oppression, but in Jashpurnagar they do not tolerate these. Many cases of disputes between Saunsars and Christians on this score were cited by the respondents. In one such case a Christian priest was beaten in a village near Paiku. Since then the visit of mission authorities in Paiku area has decreased, and Christianity is gradually losing its ground in the village. Even the government-sponsored scheme of irrigation wells conducted through Christian mission did not cover Paiku village, though Galonda, Ratiya and other villages had a number of schemes operating in them.

The liquor vendor also exploits the tribal people by supplying them liquor from door to door. This has been a menace in both the blocks and the methods adopted by the vendors are the same. Such of the tribal people who have great weakness for liquor are in league with *bhatti* to sell liquor with the hope of getting free liquor from him. Whenever a *parchunia* visits the *bhatti* the owner entertains him with drink and meat. The *parchunia* gets the liquor on credit and sells it to the villagers in cash or kind. The rate is the same as in the *bhatti* but the *bhattidar* gives him the liquor at a cheaper rate. If the sale proceeds are quick and collected in time, he gets a good profit. The villagers ask for liquor on credit and the *parchunia* cannot but oblige them, otherwise his business will not flourish. So he pleases some one who commands respect in the village so that he can help him to collect his dues. But when he runs into debt to the *bhattidar* the latter stops supplying him liquor and forces him to mortgage his land. Thus the *parchunia* is at times at a loss, yet he does not stop vending liquor. The sample villages in Jashpurnagar reported that the *parchunias* were in huge debt and frequently received notices from the *bhattidar*. If the villagers do not allow the *parchunia* to sell liquor, the officials of the excise department reportedly harass them.

The *parchunia* system has made the people still poorer because they squander their saving and even grain for daily use. This leads to family disputes and emergence of many factions in the village. This also impedes the progress of the village.

In most cases the *bhattidars* catch hold of influential persons like the Sarpanch or Mukhiya to allow the *parchunia* in the village. Where the village elders do not allow him, the liquor is sent through other members of the village. In Paiku, it was reported, the Sarpanch himself sells liquor, while in Kating the religious head of the village sells it.

The main reasons of their exploitation, as put forth by the respondents in both the blocks, are said to be their simplicity and

ignorance, while in Jashpurnagar block illiteracy was also considered as one of the causes.

It was reported by 70 per cent respondents in Dumri and 71.9 per cent in Jashpurnagar that ignorance was the main cause of their exploitation, whereas 30 per cent and 3.1 per cent respondents of Dumri and Jashpurnagar respectively said that their simplicity was another cause of their exploitation. But drinking habit has not been reported as a cause of their exploitation. Illiteracy of the people has not been referred to as a cause for exploitation in Dumri block but 6.2 per cent respondents from Jashpurnagar block considered it to be one of the causes.

In Dumri, 37.5 per cent respondents and in Jashpurnagar 55.8 per cent could not give any suggestion for doing away with exploitation. They were of the opinion that nothing could be done to check it. In order to check the exploitation by the government officials, only 3.8 per cent respondents from Jashpurnagar suggested that the exploiters should be punished. In Dumri 31.25 per cent respondents suggested that the government officials be punished, while 6.25 per cent reported that the gram panchayat be asked to enquire into the grievances of the tribal people, and if the complaints are found genuine the offenders be punished by the government. It is only government who can check the exploitation, said the other respondents of Dumri block.

Regarding the exploitation by the Christian mission 40 per cent respondents from Jashpurnagar reported that the government should restrict the activities of the Christian missions. It is important to note that 23 per cent of the respondents from Galonda village who are Christians also suggested the above measures to check the exploitation by the Christian missions. These informants also pointed out that the government has also to check the exploitation by its officials by restricting their activities. Besides, 25 per cent of the respondents from Dumri block and 1.9 per cent from Jashpurnagar reported that mission schools be taken over by the government in order to check the exploitation by the Christian missions.

Almost all the respondents of Dumri and Jashpurnagar blocks suggested that the *parchunia* system be abolished. In Dumri the respondents were not very much critical because it is only in one sample village that the *parchunia* was found active, but in Jashpurnagar block the respondents were very much critical and could explain all the evils of the system. They further asserted that this system was an impediment to the development of the area.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

THE RELATIVE POSITIONS of the people in the contiguous area with regard to their economy, education, employment, political awareness and exploitation have been discussed in earlier chapters showing the factors responsible for the different degrees of responsiveness towards acceptance of various development schemes.

In most cases it was found that Jashpurnagar block was more progressive than Dumri block. It was noted that the various development activities for the welfare of the tribal people in the contiguous area under study have been the major concern of the two main agencies, the government and the Christian mission. Both these agencies have been actively associated with the educational, economic and other areas of development of the tribal people.

But the differences mainly lie in the methods and approaches of the two agencies. Hence it would be desirable to discuss their methods and approaches.

Programmes of the Governments

There is hardly any difference between the methods and approaches of one State Government from those of the other. In general, the welfare department and/or planning and development departments take up the various programmes for tribal welfare and development. In Bihar, the welfare department is mainly associated with the educational development of the tribal people through its scheme of award of stipends, book grants and hostel grants. The welfare department has also opened a number of hostels for the tribal students. There is no such hostel in Dumri block though in Gumla sub-division there are some. Apart from education, the welfare department also provides facilities for (i) drinking wells, (ii) opening of grain golas and distribution of grain for seeds and food, and (iii) industrial subsidy up to 100 per cent to the scheduled tribes.

In Madhya Pradesh too, the welfare department has similar programmes for educational development of the tribes. Apart from award of scholarships and running of hostels, this department has

also opened a number of primary, middle and high schools. Besides, it also runs a few ashram schools. Among these ashram schools mention may be made of Bagicha, Pandrapat and Kharsota ashram schools.

Apart from educational development programmes, the tribal welfare department of Madhya Pradesh is also associated with economic development of the tribes by opening cooperative societies. Such societies are mostly multi-purpose cooperative societies including cooperative stores and forest labourer cooperative societies. Among the other agricultural development programmes, supply of fertilizers and construction of irrigation wells etc. are also taken up by this department.

Under the department of planning and development in Bihar, the block development officer looks after the various schemes such as :

- (i) intensive agricultural programmes including horticulture, fishery development, supply of seeds, fertilizers and insecticides through short-term loans to be returned after the harvest ;
- (ii) improvement of communication ;
- (iii) minor irrigation ;
- (iv) local development works such as :
 - (a) housing scheme for the tribal people ;
 - (b) irrigation well ; and
 - (c) drinking water well ;
- (v) cooperative development including :
 - (a) advancement of loan in cash and kind (fertilizers, insecticides and seeds) ;
 - (b) construction of cooperative godowns ;
 - (c) encouraging cooperative societies to carry on business of selling fertilizers, seeds etc. by establishing sale points and purchasing agricultural produce on security basis ;
- (vi) improvement of health and sanitation through :
 - (a) the dispensaries at the headquarters and at other centres ,
 - (b) the epidemic eradication scheme which includes preventive inoculation and disinfection of wells and ponds, checking adulteration of food etc. ;
- (vii) improvement of animal husbandry ; and
- (viii) education—providing free education up to primary standard for all and up to secondary standard for the scheduled tribes only.

In Madhya Pradesh too, similar programmes are in operation but the implementation is the concern of the different departments such as agriculture, animal husbandry and veterinary, soil conservation, education, public works and so on. There is, however, no proper inter-departmental coordination. In Madhya Pradesh, after the abolition of the blocks, a coordinating authority (either Agricultural Extension Officer or Cooperative Supervisor or Circle Organizer) looks after the entire development programmes of the block, except the financial matters which are in the hands of the sub-divisional officer. The coordinating authority maintains liaison between the sub-divisional officer and the other block officials. In course of investigation two coordinating authorities were transferred. At first a cooperative supervisor, then a district organizer, and finally a circle organizer, a non-gazetted government servant, acted as the coordinating authority.

Programmes of the Christian Missions

In Bihar, the Christian missions have taken up programmes parallel to those of the government, such as agricultural development programmes through expert guidance, demonstration, mechanised farming, supply of seeds, fertilizers, horticulture development, cooperative banking with a facility of providing loans, grain gola, and free supply of wheat, milk powder, oil etc., education of boys and girls and provision of training to their employees for agricultural extension in any of their institutes located at Namkum in Ranchi and at Hazaribagh.

They have also taken up measures for affording employment opportunities to the tribal people through an agency running on the lines of the government employment exchange. The headquarters of the mission employment bureau is in the mission compound at Loyalla hostel, Ranchi. Christian missions have their own hospitals and dispensaries in both Ranchi and Raigarh districts. The Holy Family Hospital is one of the biggest hospitals of Ranchi district. Similarly the hospital at Kunkur in Jashpur sub-division is quite well known. But in the sample blocks no medical facilities are provided by the Christian mission, though at Gholeng there is a dispensary under construction.

In Madhya Pradesh, the intensity with which the Christian missions are working is much less because the activities are mainly in the fields of educational development, opening of grain golas and cooperative banks. However, the mission authorities are planning to take up similar programmes of agricultural development and

would then also take care of the supply of fertilizers and seeds. Horticultural development programmes are also being taken up. One of their employees has been sent to Ranchi for training in agricultural development and extension.

It is thus evident that the Christian missions are competing with government by trying to win over the confidence of the Christians and the Saunsars which may lead to a strong sense of dependence of the Christians upon the missions and acceptance of Christianity by the Saunsars. Thus the Christian missions have shifted from their immediate interest of conversion to programmes of agricultural and other development of the people. They are working for their economic self-sufficiency so that they should not approach the government for any of the development programmes. They are training their teachers, agricultural extension workers, Kamdars etc. They have also employed 'directors' who are incharge of education, employment, agricultural and other development, cooperative bank etc., run by them. Each of them looks after a particular programme and supervises the work of various persons working under him who keep liaison between the villagers and the Christian mission. The officials of the mission also keep liaison with the government officials and mission authorities.

Successes and Failures of the Two Agencies

Actually the main aim of Christian mission, as reported by many respondents and others, is conversion. The development programmes of the government, the Christian missions fear, would take the converted tribesmen out of their fold. In order to keep the people with them, they are trying to unify themselves through various programmes. Due to all these the Christians are having a stronghold in Bihar, and many of the informants boldly reported about the failure of the government officials and achievement and successes of Christian missions with regard to several development programmes.

Another reason for the success of Christian missions in the area is because they try to get things done for the people with the least possible delay and thus the people are convinced about their sincerity. The demonstration is mostly arranged in the mission's own fields and the success achieved becomes the eye opener for the people. In government programmes also demonstration has been introduced but it does not work because the workers take it as their routine work and they do not see the purpose behind it. With the mission there is a definite purpose behind every activity. Moreover, the work of the mission is

directly with the villagers and thus they have face-to-face contact with them and the relations between the mission authorities and the villagers are more personal while with government officials it is more institutionalized. Naturally, the government programmes evoke less response from the people in comparison to the programmes of the Christian mission.

The relative successes and failures of the mission and government programmes have already been discussed in the earlier chapters. Here it would suffice to say that, according to the local people, the Christians are getting more facilities and they are progressing more than the Saunsars because the latter are less vocal and lack leadership. The Christians are getting help from both the political and religious leaders. In the contiguous area the sense of security among the Christians is more because they are dominant group and they have influential people to back them everywhere. They are also in a habit of complaining against the various government officials. Naturally, the government officials do not want to have any antagonistic attitude towards any section of the population and they simply act as executing officers. Moreover, the government officials suffer from a sense of frustration and they are indifferent towards development of the area. In Dumri block there was a general feeling among the government staff that their posting there was a sort of punishment. There is some genuine reason for such feelings because it was reported that in some of the transfer orders it was stated that such and such a person had been transferred to Dumri block under punishment. Naturally the government staff feel very much dejected and show the least initiative and interest.

Besides, there is a lack of proper coordination among the different supervisory staff and the B.D.O. In almost all the blocks there is a rift between the Medical officer and the B.D.O. mostly because of the government vehicle being placed under the control of the B.D.O. In Dumri block there were some posts which were vacant and one official had to look after the work of many. It is thus obvious that desired progress is not achieved.

Apart from the above reasons, the other main reason for the slow progress is that the plans and programmes are not need-oriented. The priority is not based on the local needs of the people, as such the desirable extent of progress is not achieved. In this connection it would be better to refer to some important programmes of the government which need higher priorities but were not given due importance.

Irrigation facilities could be successfully made available

to the people in Dumri block because there is a net work of streams, rivers and big gullies which, if tapped, will irrigate vast tracts of land in this block. All these schemes of irrigation would come under medium and major irrigation schemes and can serve as a perennial source of water. Time and again people have appealed to the government to take up these schemes, but the officials who are responsible for their execution seldom visit and stay in the interior areas. The villagers are also interested in the construction of reservoir for irrigation purposes. The schemes are big ones, hence the engineers usually avoid taking up such projects because these big schemes may call for their attendance and would necessitate longer duration of stay in this block. They are interested, it is alleged, in taking up road-side schemes and thus achieving their targets.

Some survey work was done for medium irrigation schemes on the Basa river which can irrigate 3,000 acres of *tanr* land. If the dam is constructed it can benefit one fifth of the total population of the block.

The other possibility of such a scheme is from the Sen river which can irrigate 5,000 acres, and the third is from Chidra river which can also irrigate few thousand acres. If this possibility is explored the people will be greatly benefited. None of the above schemes has been taken up so far.

When, on the one hand, government has not appreciated the importance of the medium irrigation schemes, Christian mission has succeeded in constructing one such dam on Kanji river at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs within a period of six months only. The Christian mission also got full cooperation of the people, who gave free and cheap labour and also contributed in cash. The people took Rs. 23,000 from the mission bank for this work. Another dam has also been constructed at Bandua and this work was completed with only 54 bags of wheat and the people contributing their labour. In all these schemes of Christian missions the Saunsars also worked as labourers.

Kanji and Bandua dams will be beneficial for the majority of the Christians. This success of mission has boosted the morale of the Christians while the morale of government officials and Saunsar minorities living in the block has gone down.

The other important scheme which needs priority for the block is that of better communication. The block is cut off for five months or so, and the supply of fertilizers and seeds are seldom made in time. The main hurdle in having a better communication is the river system and acquisition of land at government

cost. Hence for better communication bigger schemes may be profitably taken up by the P.W.D. as it is beyond the capacity of the block. Due to bad communication system people in this area do not find it profitable to grow cash crops and they are sticking to their traditional system thereby using less quantity of improved seeds and chemical fertilizers. Transporting anything from and to the village is very costly as everything has to be transported by bullock cart.

The other reason for the slow progress is the lack of awareness and liquor addiction among the tribal people, who are mostly illiterate. The illegal sale of liquor is vehemently opposed by the villagers but there is none to check it. This has given rise to factionalism in the village and the traditional leadership is greatly jeopardized while emergent leadership is not yet in sight.

In Jashpurnagar, the lack of coordination among the different workers, and liquor addiction have been also reported as great impediments to development. The other factors impeding development are also true for Jashpurnagar but the difference is that agricultural and other development programmes have not been taken up there by the Christian missions but these programmes of the government have been channelized through the missions. By this method the programmes have greater impact on the Christians and the Saunsars have been completely ignored.

Programme of Action

The Christians and non-Christians alike reported that if the entire responsibility of development of the area is given to the Christian mission then they would also behave like the government officials, or if they maintain their sincerity and honesty they would help the Christians only and it will induce the Saunsars to accept Christianity in order to obtain help from them.

The methods adopted by the government in Jashpurnagar block have also helped the Christians only. Measures may be taken to provide proportionate benefits to all sections of the people giving a major share of the privileges to the extremely backward communities, whosoever they may be.

Many of the informants suggested that the programmes as such are not bad. What is required is the change in the attitude of the government officials who should treat their work as a service to humanity and not as a part of daily routine. They must have honesty and sincerity of purpose. The government officials should have a sense of sacrifice, devotedness and dignity of work.

The plans and programmes be need-oriented and priorities should be fixed according to the seriousness of the problem. This is possible only when the planning is done from below. Some of the programmes which may be useful in other parts of the district or State may not be useful in this area. The typical needs of the local people of a particular area may not be common throughout the State. Thus it is desirable to change the planning system by drawing up the plans at the block level and compiling them at the district level. While drawing a plan for the entire State, problems of particular area may be very carefully examined and taken into account.

Experienced and efficient extension workers and B.D.O.s may be posted to such areas where Christian missions are running their parallel development programmes, so that they may create a confidence in the development programmes of the government and elicit more of the people's cooperation with the government programmes. Some incentive should be given to those working in such interior areas so that their posting there may not inculcate a feeling of punishment or frustration. Also the government workers be given full support in order to check the defeatist tendency that grows among those working in such areas. A more conscientious approach is needed on the part of the government workers identifying themselves with the local people in order to gain their confidence and thereby making the programmes more successful. Also the block officials may be given more freedom so that they do not have to face the bottleneck like allotment, sanction, finalization of scheme, supply of fertilizers, seed etc.

Improved demonstration about the utility of various methods, seeds and chemical fertilizers may be more frequent so as to impress the people. Sense of security and awareness among the weaker section of population and minority groups be increased, encouragements be given to develop new leaders among them who can have good confidence and respect of the people.

The illegal sale of liquor in the villages at the door of every household through the *parchunia* needs to be checked by all means. This is a serious impediment to the development of the tribal people.

Credit facilities may be provided to the tribal people not only for productive purposes but also for non-productive purposes. Actually the people do not see the difference between these two purposes when their credit needs are perpetual.

In order to check the exploitation at the hands of various agencies some punishments and restrictions should be imposed on

government officials and Christian missions respectively. It would be advisable to nationalize the schools in spite of the heavy financial commitment.

Employment avenues for the people may be increased so that in schools, blocks and in panchayats they can get appointments.

More attention needs to be paid on girls' education, and the responsibility should vest in the government officials.

